

PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR OF LÒKŏ:

A PRELIMINARY STUDY

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for the degree of

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by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a preliminary study of the phonology and grammar of the Lòkèè language.

The first chapter gives a brief general introduction to the Yàkèè people and their language. It also outlines the theoretical framework of the study.

Chapter 2 describes the phonological hierarchy, focusing primarily on the phoneme, syllable, phonological morph and phonological word units.

Chapters 3-7 describe the morpheme, word, phrase, clause and sentence units of the grammatical hierarchy respectively, presenting classes at each rank in terms of its elements of structure and showing the realization of these elements in structure.

Chapter 8 is a brief description of patterning above the sentence that provides a setting to illustrate the function of the sentence.

Lòkèè has one of the most elaborate concord-class systems among the Cross River languages of Eastern Nigeria. It is here described at the word, phrase and clause ranks of the grammatical hierarchy at which it is relevant.

The thesis concludes with an appendix consisting of some sample texts that show preliminary orthography largely based on the preceding analysis of the phonology and grammar of Lòkèè.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Yàkṣṣṣ People and their Language

The Yàkṣṣ¹ people number approximately 100,000², and live in five large compact towns east of the Cross River, about 100 kms north of Calabar along the Calabar-Ogoja major road, in the Ugep Local Government Area of the Cross River State of Nigeria.

The primary occupation of the Yàkṣṣ people is yam cultivation, but they also produce large quantities of palm-oil, palm-wine, rice, cassava and many types of vegetables which constitute part of their daily diet.

A high degree of commercial activity exists also, but the range of items is rather limited to farm-produce mainly and such imported manufactured goods as clothing, especially loin-cloths, building materials and medicines. Transportation by road within the Yàkṣṣ area and to and from other parts of the country is fairly easy and regular.

Many men and a few women speak some Efik, which is the trade language of the Cross River State, and often one or more other neighbouring languages, notably Igbo, Bahumunu and Mbembe. Many people speak, in addition,

-
1. Variouslly spelt Yakö by Daryll Forde, (1964) and Katy Barnwell (1969); Yakə by F.D.D. Winston, (1962) and Yakurr by Elaine Berry (1976).
 2. Estimate from the cancelled 1973 census.

Pidgin, as well as English, which is taught in schools as the official language of administration in Nigeria.

Most children, boys and girls, now attend primary schools. Many boys and an increasing number of girls go on to the secondary school and even to the University.

Everywhere in the Yàkée area, there are signs of social development and modernization. All the towns are linked by tarred roads. Ugep alone has five large primary and three secondary schools.

Lòkée¹ is the language of the Yàkée people. Neighbouring languages include Mbembe to the north, Legbo and Asiga to the north-west, Bahumunu to the west, Abayongo to the south-west, Agwagwune, Adim and Abini to the south, and Agoi to the east and north-east.

The most recent classification of Nigerian languages places Lòkée in the Delta-Cross sub-branch of the Cross River language family.² This is the language group earlier classified under the Cross River 3 section of the Benue-Congo sub-family of Niger-Congo by J.H. Greenberg³, under the 'Middle Cross River Group' with Mbembe and Legbo by F.D.D. Winston⁴, and under a sub-group of Cross River languages by Kay Williamson.⁵

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1. Variouslly spelt Ko, Lokə, Luko, Yako, Yakurr, Yakur(i), cf. e.g. Westermann and Bryan (1952, p.122), F.D.D. Winston (1962), J.H. Greenberg (1963, p.9), Katy Barnwell (1969, p.11), Kay Williamson (1971, p.274), Wm. E. Welmers (1971, pp.235, 837, 896), Elaine Berry (1976).
 2. Cf. Keir Hansford, John Bendor-Samuel and Ron Stanford (1976, p.178).
 3. J.H. Greenberg (1963), op. cit. p.9
 4. F.D.D. Winston, 'Nigerian Cross River Languages in the Polyglotta Africana, Part II, Sierra Leone Language Review, 4, 1965, especially pp. 123-5.
 5. Kay Williamson, 'The Benue-Congo Languages and Ijò'. Current Trends in Linguistics (ed. Thomas A. Sebeok), vol. 7, 1971, p.274.

The five Lòkée-speaking towns are generally known by the names given them by the British administration at the beginning of the century and are so named, if at all, on geographical maps. But each town calls itself by a slightly different name, and usually refers to its language and its people by dialect names that distinguish them from the others- as the following table shows (towns ordered from south to north):

English Name of Town	Mother Tongue Name of Town	Mother Tongue Name of Dialect	Mother Tongue Name of People
Idomi	Íló:mî	Lóló:mî	Yáíló:mî
Ugep	Ũmó ¹	Lòmó:mó:	Yámó:mó:
Ekuri	Èkòrî	Lòkòrî	Yàkòrî
Mkpâni	ŋkpâní	Lòkpăŋkpâni	Yàkpăŋkpâni
Nko	ŋkó	Lòké:ké:	Yàké:ké:

(Note that the lo-prefix refers to 'lanaguge', and the ya- prefix to the people).

These towns are separated from one another by only a few kilometres, the greatest distance between any two neighbouring towns being not more than eight kilometres, and usually half that distance. There is constant communication between the towns as well as continual interchange of visitors and permanent migrants. A very high degree of linguistic and cultural homogeneity has consequently been maintained between them, to the extent that the various Lòkée dialects are perfectly mutually intelligible.²

-
1. Spelt Umor by Daryll Forde (1964), op. cit.
 2. It is perhaps interesting to note, in this connection, how the five towns were founded: Èkòrî and ŋkpâní being settled originally by local migrations, following dissensions, from Ũmó; Íló:mî by a section of the main group that founded Ũmó, and ŋkó by another party a few years afterwards (cf. Daryll Forde (1964, p.6).

In terms of population and size, Ugep is the largest of the five towns, approximately 30-40,000 people and covering an area of about 75 sq. kms. (Ekuri is the second largest town, followed by Idomi, Nko and Mkpiani in that order). As the headquarters of the newly created Local Government administration, which includes all the Yàkée towns, it is the leading town in the locality. Consequently, Lòmé:mé carries most prestige. The dialect of Lòkée which is described in this thesis is Lòmé:mé, of which I am a native speaker.

1.2 The Present Study

This study is primarily a response to the Yàkée people's growing awareness of their own language, and their desire to read and write properly in it. My aim is therefore to analyse the language in a scientific linguistic manner, in the hope of stimulating further discussion and appreciation of it.

The description is largely based on my own knowledge of the language, and most ¹ of the examples are either supplied by me or by other Lòkée native speakers whose competence in the language is, in my opinion, not in doubt. ² Having learnt the language and imbibed the culture of the people from very early childhood at Ugep, where I also grew up, and having visited on numerous occasions all the five towns and lived briefly in two of them, Nko and Idomi, where I have close relatives, I believe that acting as my own informant in the analysis of the language has been

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1. Some examples were also taken or adapted from the folk-tales transcribed and translated by F.D.D. Winston in 1956, some of which are given in the Appendix.
 2. In this connection, those who were frequently consulted are mentioned in the 'Acknowledgement'.

a positive advantage and not a disadvantage. I believe, indeed, that further data will not materially affect the analysis presented here and that more detailed study of any item can be made without any major alteration to the overall description.

I also consulted and utilized, whenever possible, the various publications of, and research material gathered by, F.D.D. Winston and Elaine Berry.¹ I felt, however, that there was a need to undertake this study and to go over, from a native speaker's point of view, some of the areas already covered by their work. I had very little to disagree with in Winston's published paper on the nominal class system, but conceived of in the context of a 'a field survey of Bantoid languages of Eastern Nigeria'², it was written in detachment from the total apparatus of the language. Similarly, Elaine Berry's experimental treatment of Lòkée grammar in the theoretical framework of transformational-generative grammar was well researched,³ but, while this model, with its strong emphasis on a general theory of language, may have the potential for a profound linguistic analysis of a well-known language, it is thought to be unsuitable for my purpose, which is to do a preliminary study of a little-known language within a descriptive framework that will throw into relief the features of the language over a wide area.

1.3 The Theoretical Framework

The theoretical basis of this analysis of Lòkée is derived prin-

1. Cf. the bibliography.
2. F.D.D. Winston (1962), 'The Nominal Class System of Lokè', op. cit. p.49.
3. Elaine Berry, The Sentence Structure of Yakurr (1972?), mimeograph.

cipally from the 'Structure-Function' model outlined by J.T. Bendor-Samuel in 'A Structure-Function Description of Terena Phrases' ¹. But there are additional influences from K.L. Pike's Tagmemic Theory ² and the 'Scale and Category' model described by M.A.K. Halliday. ³

The basic theory is that some features of language are readily relatable to each other in terms of a Hierarchy, and that certain recurrent patterns are observable. The stretches of speech that carry these patterns are called Units, which are hierarchically related to each other in a series of Ranks. This relationship is normally one of 'constituency' or inclusion, in that larger units are made up of the next smaller ones. Within the hierarchy, there is at each rank only one unit, which gives its name to that rank.

The language is described in terms of two hierarchies: phonological and grammatical.

Within the phonological hierarchy, the following units are postulated:

Phoneme
Syllable
Phonological Morph
Phonological Word
Phonological Phrase

-
1. For details of the article, Cf. the bibliography. The theses of Ron Stanford and Elaine Thomas who used this theory were also consulted.
 2. As described in Tagmemic and Matrix Linguistics applied to Selected African Languages, op. cit.
 3. In 'Categories of the Theory of Grammar', op. cit. The theses of Katy Barnwell (1969) and Ayo Bangbose (1966) who applied this theory in their work were also consulted.

Sentence

Utterance

Discourse

The status of these units is tentative, particularly with regard to the last four, hence it is on the first rather than on the last four units that the analysis concentrates.

The description begins with the smallest, or lowest level unit rather than with the largest, or highest level, as is customary. This approach seems to me to be more convenient in that it describes first the stretch of language about which there is general agreement and which can be handled more comprehensively than the more complex larger or higher units.

Within the grammatical hierarchy, the following units are also tentatively set up:

Morpheme

Word

Phrase

Clause

Sentence

Utterance

Discourse

These units are described in terms of their function and structure.

The primary function of a unit is as an element of the next larger unit.

Units are divided into classes, and if necessary subclasses, according to similarities of function in the rank next above.

The structure of a unit is described in terms of:

- (a) its elements which are units of the rank below;
- (b) its syntagmatic features which mark the relationship between units and/or distinguish one unit from another.

Classes are divided into types, and if necessary subtypes, according to similarities in structure.

A unit may have a secondary function as an element of a unit at a lower rank. The unit is then described as rankshifted, e.g. the Relative Clause.

As in the phonological hierarchy, the description begins with the lowest unit, so that one or more morphemes constitute a word, one or more words a phrase, one or more phrases a clause, one or more clauses a sentence, one or more sentences an utterance, and one or more utterances a discourse.

The two hierarchies are held to be independent of each other, the units of each being separately defined. However, at certain ranks, there is congruence between phonological and grammatical units when units from both hierarchies have identical or closely similar exponents, e.g. the phonological morph and the grammatical morpheme.

1.4 A Note on the Translation of Examples

For each example, a literal and a free translation are given. No literal translation is provided whenever it can be easily deduced from immediately preceding examples.

A hyphen between words in the literal translation denotes that the

words are the translation of one Lòkée word.

The use of brackets in the free translation indicates that the word or phrase is required in the English translation, but is not present in the Lòkée example.

Finally, Lòkée verb-forms with ya- as prefix are translated either as 'you...' or 'they...' depending on whether the verbal prefix in the example is pronominal or non-pronominal respectively, i.e. whether it is, respectively, controlled by a preceding 2nd person, plural, pronoun or a nominal class 2 noun functioning as subject.

CHAPTER TWO

LÒKÉE PHONOLOGY

2.0 UNITS

The following units may be postulated in the phonological hierarchy of Lòkée:

Phoneme

Syllable

Phonological morph (abbreviated P-morph)

Phonological word (abbreviated P-word)

Phonological Phrase (abbreviated P-Phrase)

Sentence

Utterance

Discourse

It seems convenient to start with the description of the phoneme unit, in that it is the smallest and most basic significant unit of sound in Lòkée an understanding of which seems primordial, if we are to build upon it and work our way up to the higher phonological levels. This approach has the disadvantage of forcing us to make some references to units such as the syllable, the phonological morph and the phonological word before these have been defined. But it has the merit, which seems to us to outweigh by far this disadvantage, of enabling us to define each higher unit as consisting of units of the one defined immediately before.

2.1 THE PHONEME UNIT

There are two main categories of phonemes in Lòkée:

- (a) segmental phonemes
- (b) suprasegmental phonemes.

2.11 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Segmental phonemes consist of

- (i) consonants (symbolized in formulae as C)
- (ii) vowels (symbolized in formulae as V)
- (iii) the syllabic nasal (symbolized as Ñ)

2.111 CONSONANT PHONEMES

Lòkée has seventeen consonant phonemes, as summarized in the following table:

		LABIAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATO-ALVEOLAR ALVEO-PALATAL	VELAR	LABIO- VELAR
C O N S O N A N T S	PLOSIVE VL.	p	t		k	kp
	Vd.	b	d	j	g	gb
	FRICATIVE VL.	f	s			
	NASAL	m	n		ŋ	
	LATERAL		l			
	VIBRANT		(r)			
	SEMI-VOWEL			y		w

Lòkée Consonant Phonemes.

r (in parenthesis) is heard in the speech of younger speakers as a variant, sometimes of /l/, sometimes of /d/ and sometimes of /n/.

The consonants contrast as to voicing, point of articulation and manner of articulation, as shown in their description which follows under the headings:

- (a) plosives
- (b) fricatives
- (c) sonorants

2.1111 Plosives

There are nine phonemic plosives in Lòkèe which, except for the unreleased allophone of /t/ and of /b/ occurring syllable-finally, always realize the prenuclear syllable position word-initially and word-medially (for a detailed discussion of segmental phoneme distribution in the syllable and in the P- word, cf.e.g. section 2.511(b)). They enter into a four-way contrast as to voicing and/or point of articulation: /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /j/, /k/, /g/, /kp/ and /gb/.

/p/, [p], a voiceless bilabial plosive, as in /èpú/ 'hip'; /pàná/ 'touch!'

/b/, [b], a voiced bilabial plosive, as in /èbú/ 'goat'; /bàná/ 'place on!'

/b/ has two allophones: the released[b] and the unreleased[b̚]. The unreleased[b̚] occurs syllable finally in the one word

/j**ì**b/. The released [b] occurs elsewhere, i.e. syllable initially, /b**ě**n**ě**n/ 'children'/l**ě**b**ú**/'kola'. The two allophones are, therefore, in complementary distribution.

In the speech of elderly people, [b] replaces [v] in loan words, e.g. [t**ě**l**ě**b**í**s**ò**n], English loan for [t**ě**l**ě**v**í**žn] 'television'.

/t/, [t], a voiceless alveolar plosive, as in /**ě**t**ó**/ 'house';

/t**á**:/ 'investigate!' 'dig up!'

/t/ has two allophones: the released [t] and the unreleased [t̚].

The unreleased [t̚] occurs word-finally where it is in free variation with /l/ in word-final position, e.g. [é**t**á**l̚**] or [é**t**á**t̚**] 'kite'. The released [t] occurs elsewhere, i.e. word-initially and inter-vocally.

/d/, [d], a voiced alveolar plosive, as in /**ě**d**ó**/ 'then';

/k**ě**d**ó**:/ 'sleeping'; /**d**á:/ 'lick'.

/d/ occurring intervocally in a disyllabic radical phonological morph structure may occasionally be pronounced as [ɾ], particularly in the speech of younger people, e.g. [t**à**rá] for [t**à**dá] 'stretch!' (cf. discussion under vibrant, section 2. 11133).

/j/, [d**ž**], a voiced palato-alveolar grooved affricated plosive, as

in /k**ě**j**ó**:/ 'leaking'; /j**á**:/ 'poke into!'

[d**ž**] is produced by friction at the palato-alveolar place of

articulation on the slow release of the [d] occlusion, so that the friction making the [ʒ] sound and the occlusion for the articulation of [d] are homorganic.

The affricate is interpreted as a single phoneme because [ʒ] does not occur as an autonomous segment in Lòkée.

It may be noted that /j/ is systematically replaced by a voiced alveolar fricative /z/ in the Íló:mì (Idomi) dialect.

/k/, [k], a voiceless velar plosive, as in /lèkà/ 'village community shelter'; /kām/ 'help';

/g/, [g], a voiced velar plosive, as in /lègà/ 'tooth', 'laughter'; /gām/ 'deny (someone something)';

/g/ is in free variation with /y/ in word-initial position in a restricted number of phonological words and their derivatives, e.g.

/gèná/ or /yèná/ 'hang out!'

/géná/ or /yéná/ 'consider!' 'think out!'

/génǵá/ or /yénǵá/ 'complete (e.g. someone's name)!'

/gèyyá/ or /yèyyá/ 'droop!' 'wither!'

But, in general, /g/ and /y/ constitute separate phonemes, in view of the following minimal pairs among many others:

/gálí/ 'spin (a wheel)!' ≠ /yálí/ 'split'

/gãm/ 'deny someone something' ≠ /yãm/ 'press upon!'
 /gáy/ 'lift up' ≠ /yáy(èkpá)/ 'flog!'

/kp/, [kp], a voiceless labio-velar plosive, as in /èkpô:/
 'rubber'; /èkpá/ 'belt'.

/gb/, [gb], a voiced labio-velar plosive, as in /ègbó/ 'patron
 god' ; /ègbá/ 'hunger' (a word of foreign origin).

[kp] and [gb] have simultaneous double articulation at the
 velar and labial places of articulation. They are therefore
 treated as single phonemes.

2.1112 Fricatives.

Lòkèè has only two fricatives: /f/ and /s/, which occur only
 in the prenuclear syllable position word-initially and word-
 medially. Both are voiceless and contrast only as to point of
 articulation.

/f/, [f], a voiceless labio-dental fricative, as in /ófò:lé/ 'it is
 rather near'; /fí:/ 'kill!'; /fí/ 'foam!'

/s/, [s], a voiceless alveolar sibilant fricative, as in /ósò:lé/
 'he is rather clever'; /sĩ:/ 'reject!'; /sĩ/ 'fill up (a
 pit)!'

In the dialect of elderly speakers, [s] occurs as a variant of

[ʒ] and [tʃ] in loan words, e.g.

[tɛ̀lɛ̀bɪ́sɔ̀n] for [tɛ̀lɛ̀vɪ́ʒn̩] 'television'

[búsà] for [bótʃə̀] 'butcher'

2.1113 Sonorants

The sonorant consonants in Lókée consist of three nasals, a lateral, a vibrant and two semivowels. Apart from the vibrant, which occurs only intervocalically word-medially, and the velar nasal which does not realize the word-initial position, the other sonorants occur in prenuclear and postnuclear syllable positions word-initially, word-medially and word-finally.

2.11131 Nasals

There are three nasal consonants (sometimes symbolized N in formulae): /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/, which contrast only as to point of articulation: labial, alveolar and velar.

/m/, [m], a voiced bilabial nasal, as in /mǎn/ 'give birth!';

/ɔ̀mǎn/ 'female'; /kétɛ̀m/ 'lizard'; /kòtɛ̀mí/ 'seam'.

/n/, [n], a voiced alveolar nasal, as in /nǎn/ 'receive!';

/ɔ̀nǎn/ 'he received'; /kòtɛ̀ní/ 'recognizing'.

There is at least one instance where the alveolar nasal consonant occurs as an alternative form to the flap vibrant: while young people pronounce [éɾòpɪlɛ̀n], a word borrowed from the English 'aeroplane', elderly people regularly pronounce it

[é̃nòp̃l̃ên].

/ŋ/, [ŋ], a voiced velar nasal, as in /á̃ŋâlâ/ 'salad leaf';

/ŋ̃tòŋí/ 'okra'; /kòt̃uŋ/ 'ear'.

Remark

When m, n or ŋ occurs as syllable-final consonant, i.e. as C_f, and it is followed by a consonant, the nasal articulation is homorganic with the following consonant. Thus,

P-words in isolation

/èt̃òm/	→	[kèt̃òŋkâŋjá]
'life'		'useless life'
/két̃èm/	→	[lét̃èndém]
'lizard'		'male lizard'
/ègén/	→	[ògè̃wèn]
'waist'		'small waist'
/èt̃ě̃n/	→	[lèt̃èmbú]
'meat'		'piece of smoked meat'

2.11132 The Lateral

There is only one lateral phoneme in Lòkée:

/l/, [l], a voiced alveolar lateral as in /lòtí/ 'handle'; /ègè̃lé/ 'small snail'; /èkpè̃l/ 'chair'.

But, as earlier mentioned under /t/, /l/ in word-final position is in free variation with the unexploded allophone of /t/.

Note also that where *r* occurs in the original language form of a loan word, young speakers tend to retain it in their articulation of the loan word, while elderly people replace it with the lateral phoneme, e.g.

[âkâ^lâ] or [âkâ^râ] 'cassava cake'

(For a further discussion of this point cf. section 2.11133).

Remark

When /l/ occurs as syllable-final consonant i.e. as C_f, and it is followed by another consonant, the /l/ is dropped in the phonetic realization of the sequence, the preceding vowel being apparently unpredictably lengthened or not lengthened in some words.

Examples.

/èdè ^l dèl/	→	[èdè:dèl]	'a sheep'
/tô ^l + ké/	→	[tô:ké]	'trace it first'
/mă ^l + ké/	→	[mă:ké]	'squeeze out first'
/tô ^l + môn/	→	[tô:môn]	'trace us'
/mă ^l + môn/	→	[mă:môn]	'squeeze us out'
/yă ^l + bē/	→	[yă:bē]	'give them a ride'
/tă ^l + môn/	→	[tă:môn]	'pull us'
/tă ^l + bē/	→	[tă:bē]	'pull them'

2.11133 The Vibrant

The occurrence of the rolled or flapped *r* in Lòkée speech

is a relatively recent phenomenon. It is heard frequently in the speech of young or bilingual people who have had the opportunity of learning, in and outside the process of formal education, the two prestige languages of Efik and English with which the Yâkée people have had enduring contacts in the last half-century or so, languages which are used today as official or trade languages. While there is no place here for a diachronic study of this sound, it may perhaps be said that the emergence of [r] in Lòkée is probably due to the overwhelming influence of these two languages, and especially Efik, since there seems to be a direct correlation between competence in Efik and English and the habit of pronouncing the vibrant. Thus, while elderly people, who are by and large monolingual, replace the vibrant in loan words with the lateral or the alveolar nasal, bilingual and formally-educated young people retain it almost unconsciously. The following table illustrates the existence of the two dialectical forms of pronunciation of r in borrowed words:

Word form in the language of origin.		Loan Word as pronounced by	
		elderly people	young people
èwùrà	(Efik)	[èwùlà] 'dress'	[èwùrà]
àkàrà	(Yoruba)	[àkàlà] 'cassava cake'	[àkàrà]
òkpókóró	(Efik)	[òkpókóló] 'table'	[òkpókóró]
bread	(English)	[bílɛ] 'bread'	[brɛ̃(d)]

It is interesting to note that there is only one pronunciation of the loan word derived from the Efik word sókòfò 'orange' :

[ùsô:kóló] 'orange'. This may be an indication that this loan word is earlier than any of those listed in the table above.

Note also, as earlier indicated under /d/, that the voiced alveolar stop occurring intervocalically may be 'weakened' into [r] in a small number of words, especially in the dialect of Western-educated Yákée speakers. The following words have, therefore, two alternative forms of pronunciation:

Pronunciation	
by elderly people	by young speakers
[tâ <u>d</u> á] 'stretch!'	[tâ <u>r</u> á]
[gá <u>d</u> á (épál)] 'run fast!'	[gá <u>r</u> á]
[yá <u>d</u> á] 'split!'	[yá <u>r</u> á]
[yó <u>d</u> á] 'straighten!'	[yó <u>r</u> á]
[wà <u>d</u> á] 'loosen!'	[wà <u>r</u> á]
[kú <u>d</u> é] 'pour!'	[kú <u>r</u> é]
[kódô:] 'be careful!'	[kórô:]

In this respect, compare the alternation of [d] with [r] in some Efik words and phrases, e.g.

aran 'oil' for adan
eritoɔɔ 'beginning' for editoɔɔ
mmo lo 'they are there' for mmo do

It seems, therefore, correct to say, in conclusion, that, as at present, [r] is a variant of /l/ or /n/ in certain loan words

derived from words which contain *r* in their language of origin, and of /d/ in some Lòkée words in which /d/ occurs intervocalically in disyllabic radical phonological morph structures. In view of this restricted occurrence, [r] cannot be said to enjoy the full status of an autonomous phoneme within the phonology of Lòkée.

2.11134 The Semivowels

Lòkée has two semivowels (or open approximants.):

/y/ and /w/.

/y/, [y] (IPA [j]), a voiced alveo-palatal semivowel, as in /yèn/ 'eyes'; /yǎ:ŋì/ 'ants'; /lù:yí/ 'keep rubbing off'; /yò:wá/ 'we didn't drink (it)'.

/y/ is in free variation with /g/ in certain words, as already pointed out under /g/.

/w/, [w], a voiced labio-velar semivowel, as in /wèn/ 'child'; /kèwǎ:wà/ 'gluttony'; /wò:wá/ 'breathe'.

/w/ may occur as the second phoneme in the consonant clusters /kw/ and /gw/ (cf. section 2.11143).

/y/ and /w/ occur either syllable-initially or syllable-finally. The examples given above illustrate their syllable-initial occurrence only. Their syllable-final occurrence is discussed below under long semivowel consonants (section 2.11142).

2.1114 Long Consonants

'Long consonants' here refers strictly to long nasal and semivowel consonants, in that only these may occur long in Lòkéo.

2.11141. Long Nasal Consonants

Nasal length is phonologically significant, as the following minimal and near-minimal pairs show (:marking length):

[yì:mé] 'remind!' [yìm:é] 'whisper!'

[óyíní] 'he told' [óyín:í] 'he is telling'

[bá:ŋá] 'slash off!' [bán:á] 'go near!'

[pèné] 'meet!' [pèn:é] 'change!'

[kèkánjá] 'pangolin' [kèkân:á] 'nothing'

Long nasal consonants are invariably homogeneous, as the above examples illustrate. They may occur word-medially in disyllabic radical phonological morphs, at P-morph junctures in compound words, or at P-word junctures. When length focuses on a nasal consonant position, the long nasal consonant is interpreted as consisting of two nasal segments, the first of which functions as coda of the preceding syllable, and the second as onset of the following syllable, as the examples and their interpretation which follow illustrate('marking syllable break): (a) long nasal consonants occurring medially in disyllabic radical phonological morphs:

[kònm̩:è] < /kònm̩.mè/ 'patience'

[kònm̩:á] < /kònm̩.má/ 'smile'

[tín:á]	<	/tín.ná/	'shift!'
[kònnàn:á]	<	/kònnàn.ná/	'helping to carry a load'
[kpéŋ:é]	<	/kpéŋ.ŋé/	'condole!'
[kèkân:á]	<	/kèkân.ŋá/	'nothing'
[létóm:à]	<	/létóm.mà/	'hole in the roof mat'

- (b) long nasal consonants occurring at phonological morph junctures in compound words:

[lèkém:à]	<	/lèkém.mà/	'compound entrance'
[lètěm:à]	<	/lètěm.mà/	'aminal's hole'
[kòtěŋ:ànà]	<	/kòtěŋ.nànà/	'meat soup'

- (c) long nasal consonants occurring at P-word junctures:

[kém:â:]	<	/kém.mâ:/	'stop there!'
[tèm:ínà]	<	/tèm.mínà/	'sew here!'
[tóm:òn]	<	/tóm.mòn/	'give (it) to us'

Given the occurrence of the long nasal consonants across syllable boundaries, this interpretation seems to be the only one possible, since we do not have any syllable types such as CVN: or N:V (cf. occurring syllable structures in the section discussing syllables, i.e. 2.215).

Furthermore, when native speakers were asked to break up the P-words listed above into small bits, their pauses fell exactly where we have made the syllable breaks.

Long nasal consonants may also occur word-finally, but only

in ideophones, which are extra-systemic, e.g.

/gbɛ̃m:/ 'very dark'

/gbín:/ 'very tight'

/wáŋ:/ 'very white'

Nasal length in this position may be further extended for even greater emphasis.

2.11142 Long Semivowel Consonants

Long semivowel consonants are relatively rare, compared with long nasal consonants, the long labio-velar semivowel consonant being particularly so.

Indeed, there is only one recorded example of the long alveo-palatal semivowel consonant, and none of the long labio-velar semivowel consonant occurring word-medially in a disyllabic radical P-morph, e.g.

/gɔ̃y.yá/ or /yɔ̃y.yá/ 'droop', 'wither'.

Many examples exist, however, of the alveo-palatal semivowel occurring long at phonological morph junctures, e.g.

/dǎy.yé/ 'coax him!'

/kóy.yé/ 'give him a bath!'

/túy.yé/ 'frighten it off!'

/gáy.yé/ 'lift it up!'

But examples of the labio-velar semivowel occurring long at P-

morph junctures are considerably fewer, e.g.

/k^hŵ.wə/ 'go (by) yourself!'

/y^hew.wə/ 'sharpen (for) yourself!'

Like the long nasal consonants, the long semivowel consonants are always homogeneous, and are easily interpreted as consisting of two segments, since the first segment, as earlier demonstrated in respect of long nasals, occurs as the coda element realizing the final phase of the first syllable, while the second segment occurs as the initial consonant of the second syllable.

But, unlike the two segments of a long nasal, which always have similar phonetic properties, the two segments of a long semivowel have perceptibly different phonetic qualities. The syllable-final semivowel has a vowel-like quality, i.e. in this position /y/ sounds like [i] and /w/ like [u],¹ while syllable-initial semivowels have a consonant-like quality, marked by the obstruction of the pulmonary air-stream at the alveo-palatal place of articulation for the realization of [y] and at the labial and velar points of articulation for the realization of [w].

This phonetic fact suggests that it is possible to interpret the vowel-sounding segments of long semivowels as vowels, and so to symbolize, for example,

1. Winston, (1962) p.69, indeed transcribed /y/ and /w/ in this position (i.e. in the sequences -Vi and -Vu) as i and u. This may be taken to mean that he heard them as vowels.

/kóy yé/	as	/kói yé/	'give him a bath'
/dáy yé/	as	/dái yé/	'coax him'
/kǒw wǒ/	as	/kǒu wǒ/	'go (by) yourself'
/yǒw wǒ/	as	/yǒu wǒ/	'sharpen (for) yourself'

But such an interpretation would be wrong, for the following reasons:

(a) The phonological system of Lòkèè does not favour the occurrence of sequences of dissimilar vowels, as demonstrated by (i) the vowel elision process (cf. section 2.51) and (ii) the epenthetic consonant rule (2.52), examples of both of which are given here:

- (i)
- | | | |
|-----------|---|------------|
| /ékò émì/ | → | [ékě:mì] |
| cloth my | | 'my cloth' |
| /jí ètǎn/ | → | [jê:tǎn] |
| eat meat | | 'eat meat' |
- (ii)
- | | | |
|----------------|---|------------------|
| /dǒ:/ + /é/ | → | [dò:wé] |
| throw down him | | 'throw him down' |
| /dú/ + /é/ | → | [dúwé] |
| beat him | | 'beat him' |

(b) Syllable-final semivowels behave, in terms of syllabic patterning, in much the same way as unambiguous consonants occurring in a similar position. Thus,

- (i) /w/ resembles /l/ in disappearing before a consonant: compare, for example, /kpál/ + /bé/ → [kpábé] 'fold them'
- | | | | |
|--------------|---|--------|-------------|
| /tǎl/ + /bé/ | → | [tâbé] | 'pull them' |
|--------------|---|--------|-------------|

with /dǎw/ + /b^é lègà/ → [dǎb^élègà] 'laugh at them'
 /yǎw/ + /k^éŋkòŋ/ → [yèk^éŋkòŋ] 'sharpen the knife'

(ii) /y/ resembles /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ in not disappearing before a consonant: compare, for instance,

 /kām/ + /b^é/ → [kām^bé] 'help them'
 /nǎn/ + /ŋs^ów/ → [nǎn^ŋ:s^óu] 'take the soap'
 /káŋ/ + /k^ukpátù/ → [káŋ^kk^ukpátù] 'fry mushrooms'
 with /kóy/ + /b^é/ → [kóib^é] 'wash them'
 /kòy/ + /y^é/ → [kóiy^é] 'give him a bath'

However, from now on, /y/ and /w/ occurring syllable-finally will be transcribed as i and u respectively. This is partly in recognition of the difference in phonetic qualities between semi-vowels occurring syllable-initially and syllable-finally. It is also partly in recognition of the desire of literate Lòkée speakers who consider that the -Vi and -Vu transcription is easier to read and more natural than -Vy and -Vw. It is instructive that many earlier attempts to transcribe the language systematically have always symbolized the -Vy and -Vw sequences as -Vi and -Vu.¹ The feeling that -Vi and -Vu are more natural than -Vy and -Vw may not be unconnected with the fact that -Vi and -Vu sequences occur in Efik, the official medium of formal education when schools were first established in Kèkée (in the area inhabited by the Yàkée

1. Cf., in particular, the Roman Catholic Catechism in Lòkée (1959) and the papers published on Lòkée by F.D.D. Winston (1962) and Elaine Berry (1974).

people).

2.11143 Consonant Clusters

A 'consonant cluster' here refers to a sequence of two different consonants.

In Lòkěə, the following consonant clusters occur:

/pɫ/ as in /kɛpl̩ə:/ 'fufu'; /kɛpl̩á/ 'soup plate'

/bɫ/ as in /lɛbl̩ə/ 'shed'; /ɛbl̩á/ 'dog'

/kpl/ as in /ɛkpl̩í:bà/ 'kind of tubes'

/kl/ as in /kɛkl̩í:kà/ 'kind of plant bearing edible fruit'

/ml/ as in /kàml̩ě:/ 'inside'; /kɛml̩ɛŋ/ 'nail'

/kw/ as in /úkwá/ 'canoe'; /kwá:lí/ 'scratch'

/gw/ as in /ígwè/ 'proper name'; /ógwè:yì/ 'he is grunting'

These clusters occur rather infrequently, and /kw/ and /gw/ are especially rare. They are symbolized in formulae as C C.

Each sequence of two consonants is interpreted as a consonant cluster for economy of phonemes: to consider each of the clusters as a distinctive phoneme would have added, unnecessarily, five new consonant phonemes to our list. It may be added that the phones of these clusters are distinctly articulated in a consecutive manner.

2.112 VOWEL PHONEMES

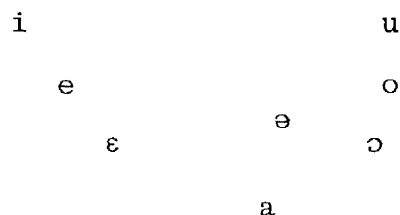
There are eight vowel phonemes in Lòkěə, which may be divided into front, central and back vowels, as shown in the following chart:

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i		u
MID	e	ə	o
LOW	ɛ	a	ɔ

Lòkɛə Vowel Phonemes

The symmetrical arrangement of the phonemes captures the fact that, in Lòkɛə, there is phonologically a three-way vowel height contrast at the front and back places of articulation, and a two-way height contrast at the central place of articulation, as well as a two-way front/backness contrast at the high tongue position, and a three-way front/backness contrast at the mid and low places of articulation - a fact which will become significant when we come to discuss vowel harmony at the phonological word level (cf. section 2.3115).

But it should be noted that, phonetically in careful style of utterance, the mid and low front and back vowels are half-close and half-open respectively, that the articulation of the mid central vowel [ə] is, as in English, somewhere between the half-close and half-open tongue positions, and that [a] has a lower tongue position than either [ɛ] or [ɔ], as the following diagram illustrates:



Lòkɛə Vowel Phones.

It should be noted, further, that when these phones occur in a less than careful style of utterance, their quality is affected, more or less strongly, by adjacent consonants and nearby vowels.

With regard to vowel quality affected by adjacent consonants, this is particularly the case when a vowel is followed by a syllable-final nasal, and especially by the velar nasal. In this environment, the vowel becomes perceptibly nasalised,¹ e.g.

/kɛ̃kɔ̃ŋ/ → [kɛ̃̃kɔ̃̃ŋ]

/ɔ̃dɛ̃m/ → [ɔ̃̃dɛ̃̃m]

/lɪmɔ̃n/ → [lɪmɔ̃̃n]

And with regard to vowel quality modified by neighbouring vowels, this happens quite perceptibly when the vowel [ə] is followed either immediately by a different vowel (in vowel elision, section 2.44) or by a vowel preceded by a consonant, e.g.

/gɔ̃nɔ̃-ò kɔ̃bɔ̃: kɛ̃ lɛ̃:kpà/ → [gɔ̃nɔ̃: kɔ̃bɔ̃: kɛ̃ lɛ̃:kpà]

'put your hand in your pocket'

/lɛ̃kpálà jɛ̃ kɛ̃:fə:/ → [lɛ̃kpálà jɛ̃ kɛ̃:fə:]

'the nest of a warbler'

/tɔ̃i kɔ̃bɔ̃: kɛ̃ lù:jí/ → [tɔ̃i kɔ̃bɔ̃: kɔ̃ lù:jí]²

(lit. put hand to food) 'begin to eat'

-
1. Note that vowel nasalisation does not occur as a contrastive feature in Lókɛ̃.
 2. It would appear that when the vowel determining the place of articulation of the preceding [ə] is high, i.e. either [i] or [u], the modified tongue position for [ə] becomes approximately [ɛ] or [ɔ] respectively. For another example, cf. Winston (1962), p. 69 : /jɛ̃ lɪdɛ̃n/ → [jɛ̃̃ lɪdɛ̃̃n] 'big'.

The point being made is that although each vowel symbol refers to a specific point of articulation in a careful style of speech, it nevertheless represents a range of qualities determined by its environment in a style of utterance that is not particularly careful. And although our transcription is based on a careful style of speech, it is important to be aware of the occurrence in the language of the phenomenon described above.

2.1121 Front Vowel Phonemes

There are three front vowel phonemes, all characterized by lip-spreading, and contrasting as to high, mid and low tongue position:

/i/, [i], a high unrounded vowel, as in /íkpé/ 'lawsuit' ; /tĩ:/

'step on'; /mĩ:ná/ 'squeeze'.

/e/, [e], a half-close unrounded vowel, as in /tě:/ 'sing!';

/èkpè/ 'naming ceremony'.

/ɛ/, [ɛ], a half-open unrounded vowel, as in /mɛ:ná/ 'bend!';

/èkpè/ 'leopard'.

2.1122 Central Vowel Phonemes

The central vowel phonemes are two, characterized, like the front vowels, by lip-spreading. They are in a two-way contrast as to mid and low tongue position.

/ə/, [ə], a mid unrounded vowel, as in /təu/ 'dance!'; /pè:lé/ 'fly!'

/a/, [a], a low unrounded vowel, as in /dǎu/ 'laugh!'; /pà:lǎ/
'expand!'

2.1123 Back Vowel Phonemes

There are three contrasting back vowel phonemes, high, mid and low, characterized by lip-rounding:

/u/, [u], a high rounded vowel, as in /yǔ:/ 'fight!'; /kúwǎ/
'squat!'

/o/, [o], a half-close rounded vowel, as in /yǒ:/ 'weave!';
/kǒwǎ/ 'show!'

/ɔ/, [ɔ], a half-open rounded vowel, as in /yǒ:/ 'forget!';
/kǒwǎ/ 'peel!'

2.1124 Vowel Length

All vowels may occur short or long. The most important long vowels are ə, a, o and ɔ.

Vowel length, like consonantal length, is contrastive, as the following minimal pairs distinguished only by vowel length show:

[dó]	[dó:]
'tidy up!'	'be satisfied!'
[bǎŋǎ]	[bǎ:ŋǎ]
'coax him!'	'keep coaxing him!'
[wú]	[wú:]
'pound!'	'be full!'

[tá]	[tá:]
'shoot!'	'investigate!'
[kó]	[kó:]
'trim into shape!'	'ignore (someone)!'
[tólí]	[tó:lí]
'return!'	'go to a place several times!'
[kèbètí]	[kè:bètí]
'toilet'	'proper name!'
[génó]	[gé:né]
'put in!'	'be long!'
[yàmá]	[yà:má]
'press!'	'tear!'
[tálí]	[tá:lí]
'burst out crying!'	'speak out louder!'

The interpretation of vowel length presents some problems. From the data given above, a long vowel may constitute either the 'nucleus' of a single syllable, i.e. (C) V:, or the nuclei of two separate syllables, i.e. (C)V.V.

However, the treatment of vowel length as a sequence of two identical vowels constituting two syllables would appear to be less consistent with the phonological system of Lòkèé, since it would create vowel clusters, a phenomenon of which there is no unambiguous evidence (cf. section 2.11142(a)).

2.113 THE SYLLABIC NASAL

The syllabic nasal /N/ is a tone-carrying phoneme. It is this

feature that distinguishes it from the nasal consonant, It is also this feature that enables it to constitute, like the vowels, a separate syllable, which may be short or long with appropriate tone.

The syllabic nasal occurs mainly in two positions: word-initially and word-finally, and exceptionally word-medially.

2.1131. In the word-initial position, it is homorganic with the following consonant, signifying either the plural morpheme in nouns, or the first person singular prefix morpheme in verbs.

Thus,

(i) before a bilabial consonant, it has a labial nasal articulation, e.g.

[m̩-pɛ] 'months'

[m̩-bɔ:] 'hands'

It also has an [m̩] articulation before the labio-dental fricative, /f/, e.g.

[m̩-fɛ] 'feet'

(ii) before an alveolar consonant, it has an alveolar nasal articulation, e.g.

[n̩-tɔ] 'houses'

[n̩-dúm] 'deafness'

[n̩-sánìyà] 'sardine tins'

[n̩-nínòŋ] 'fingers'

[n̩-lái] 'I scattered'

It also has an [ɲ] articulation before the palato-alveolar affricate, /tʃ/, e.g.

[ɲ-j̃ɛn] 'yet'

(iii) before the alveo-palatal semivowel /y/, it has a palatal nasal articulation, [ɲ]. However, this allophone will be represented by the alveolar nasal symbol n for economy of symbols, since [ɲ] does not occur as a phoneme, e.g. [ɲ-yáu] 'spots'

[ɲ-yəu] 'antelopes'

(iv) before a velar consonant, it has a velar nasal articulation, e.g.

[ɲ-kɔ̃] 'clothes'

[ɲ-kúwɔ̃] 'fire-place'

[ɲ-gəm] 'back'

(v) before a labio-velar consonant, including the labio-velar semivowel /w/, it has a labio-velar nasal articulation, [m̠ɲ]. But this allophone will be represented by the velar nasal symbol ŋ for economy of symbols, since m̠ɲ does not occur as a phoneme, e.g.

[ŋ-kpɔ̃:] 'yam barn'

[ŋ-kpáɲ] 'bamboo bed'

[ŋ-ghɔ̃:kɔ̃bí] 'prison', 'chain'

[ŋ-wɛ̃nɛ̃] 'book'

Although the syllabic nasal, in this position, is homorganic with the following consonant, it is treated as a separate segment because, if all radical initial consonants may be preceded by it,

then clearly it would be uneconomical to posit a whole series of prenasalised consonant phonemes in addition to their non-prenasalised counterparts.

2.1132 In word-final position, the syllabic nasal, signifying the first person object pronoun singular morpheme, is similarly determined by the adjacent segmental phoneme, but in this case, by the preceding vowel or consonant.

Thus, the syllabic nasal invariably has a bilabial nasal articulation when it follows a verb-form ending in an open syllable, e.g.

[ótô:lî]	+	/N/	→	[ótô:lí- <u>m̩</u>]
'he followed'				'he followed me'
[tě:]	+	/N/	→	[tě:- <u>m̩</u>]
'leave alone!'				'leave me alone'
[dé:]	+	/N/	→	[dě:- <u>m̩</u>]
'buy!'				'buy for me!'
[ótá:]	+	/N/	→	[ótă:- <u>m̩</u>]
'he threw'				'he threw at me'
[ótó:]	+	/N/	→	[ótô:- <u>m̩</u>]
'he owed'				'he owed me'
[yǒ:]	+	/N/	→	[yǒ:- <u>m̩</u>]
'forget!'				'forget me!'

It takes the form of its bilabial, alveolar or velar allophone respectively, when it follows a verb-form ending in a closed syllable

with the bilabial, alveolar or velar nasal consonant as coda segment, e.g.

/kám/	+	/Ṇ/	→	[káṃ-ṇ]
'pierce'				'pierce me'
/tám/	+	/Ṇ/	→	[táṃ-ṇ]
'sew'				'sew for me'
/tóm/	+	/Ṇ/	→	[tóṃ-ṇ]
'send'				'send me'
/nám/	+	/Ṇ/	→	[náṃ-ṇ]
'receive'				'receive me'
/tón/	+	/Ṇ/	→	[tóṇ-ṇ]
'share out'				'give me a share'
/mũŋ/	+	/Ṇ/	→	[mũŋ̣-ṇ]
'give to drink'				'give me to drink'
/kẽŋ/	+	/Ṇ/	→	[kẽŋ̣-ṇ]
'sift'				'sift for me'

But when the syllabic nasal follows a verb-form ending in a CVi closed syllable, it takes a bilabial form, and there optionally occurs an epenthetic vowel, i, between the CVi verb-form and the syllabic nasal whenever the semivowel is distinctly articulated, e.g.

/dái/	+	/Ṇ/	→	[dáị:-ṇ] or [dáy-i:-ṇ]
'feed'				'feed me'
/gǎi/	+	/Ṇ/	→	[gǎị-ṇ] or [gây-ị-ṇ]
'draw'				'draw me'

/kóɪ/	+	/N̩/	→	[kóɪ̃:- <u>n̩</u>] or [kóy-ɪ̃:- <u>n̩</u>]
'wash'				'wash me'

And when the syllabic nasal follows a verb-form ending in a CVu closed syllable, the coda segment drops and the vowel nucleus of the syllable is lengthened. The syllabic nasal, now preceded by a vowel, takes the form of the bilabial allophone, e.g.

/dáu/	+	/N̩/	→	[dā:- <u>n̩</u>]
'laugh'				'laughs at me'
/tɔ̃u/	+	/N̩/	→	[tɔ̃:- <u>n̩</u>]
'rub down'				'rub me down'

The same process takes place when the verb-form preceding the syllabic nasal ends in a closed syllable with the lateral consonant as coda, except that the syllabic nasal now takes the form of the alveolar syllabic nasal allophone.

/yǎɪ/	+	/N̩/	→	[yǎ:- <u>n̩</u>]
'ride'				'give me a ride'
/yěɪ/	+	/N̩/	→	[yě:- <u>n̩</u>]
'call'				'call me'
/ɔ̃dàɪ/	+	/N̩/	→	[ɔ̃dǎ:- <u>n̩</u>]
'it is sweet'				'I like it'
/pǐɪ/	+	/N̩/	→	[pǐ:- <u>n̩</u>]
'break'				'give me a piece'

Note that when the syllabic nasal occurs between a verb-form and a P-word beginning with a consonant, the syllabic nasal becomes

homorganic with that word-initial consonant as to place of articulation, e.g.

/yǎ:- <u>ṇ</u> /	+	/mótò/	→	[yǎ:- <u>m</u> :ótò]
'give me a ride!'		'car'		'give me a ride in a car!'
/kǎ:- <u>ṇ</u> /	+	/kěṇkòṇ/	→	[kǎ:- <u>ṇ</u> kēṇkòṇ]
'give me!'		'knife'		'give me a knife!'
/dǎu:- <u>ṇ</u> /	+	/lègà/	→	[dǎ:- <u>ṇ</u> lègà]
'laugh at me!'		'laughter'		'laugh at me!'

The syllabic nasal, as earlier indicated, may realize, exceptionally, a word-medial position. This occurs in three simple nouns, and their derivative forms.

The three simple nouns are:

singular		plural
/kěṇ <u>d</u> ém/	'bottom', 'buttocks'	/yěṇ <u>d</u> ém/
/kěṇ <u>j</u> èn/	'banana', 'plantain'	/yěṇ <u>j</u> èn/
/kěṇ <u>k</u> òṇ/	'knife', 'matchet'	/yěṇ <u>k</u> òṇ/

Their derivative forms are:

singular		plural
/óṇ <u>d</u> éṇwèn/	'small bottom'	/yáṇ <u>d</u> éṇbèn/
/óṇ <u>j</u> èṇwèn/	'small banana'	/yáṇ <u>j</u> èṇbèn/
/óṇ <u>k</u> òṇwèn/	'small knife'	/yáṇ <u>k</u> òṇbèn/
/óṇ <u>j</u> èṇkpìlìbàwèn/	'banana'	/yáṇ <u>j</u> èṇkpìlìbàbèn/
/lón <u>j</u> èṇgbá/	'twin plantain'	/lín <u>j</u> èṇgbá/
/lón <u>j</u> èṇbá/	'bunch of bananas'	/lín <u>j</u> èṇbá/
/lón <u>j</u> èṇwǎ:/	'banana leaf'	/lín <u>j</u> èṇwǎ:/

The occurrence of /N/ in this position has given rise to some interpretation problems, since it is difficult to perceive it as syllabic or non-syllabic just by listening to the articulation of the words.

We have, however, interpreted it as syllabic on grounds of economy of syllable patterns. For to treat /N/ in this position as a non-syllabic nasal would not only create a new CVC pre-radical syllable pattern that does not occur in any other noun in the language, but it would also mean that, when one comes to the diminutive forms of the three simple nouns, one will be obliged to create, not only yet another pre-radical syllable structure, i.e. VC-, but this syllable pattern will add yet another one to Lòkée syllable patterns, and one which does not occur anywhere else in the system.

Having decided that /N/ in this position is syllabic, the question arises as to whether the pre-radical P-morph of these nouns is monosyllabic or disyllabic. This point is discussed appropriately under section 2.4211.

2.12 SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONEMES.

2.121 TONEMES

Lòkée has two basic pitch phonemes or tonemes, which we may call high [H] and low [L] and write with acute ´ and grave ` accents respectively. The following minimal pairs illustrate their phonemic contrast, and therefore their lexical function:

/ètɔ́/	'house'	/ètò/	'hyena'
/ètí/	'stick'	/ètì/	'road'
/èpú/	'hip'	/èpù/	'monkey'
/yòmḗ/	'lie down'	/yómḗ/	'measure'
/ùkwà/	'a ritual association'	/úkwá/	'canoe'
/òlòwḗ/	'water melon'	/ólòwḗ/	'frivolity'

In addition, the language has a mid tone, which will be represented by the symbol [M] in formulae. It has a very restricted distribution, in that it never occurs alone over a syllable, but combines with the high or low toneme to form bitonal combinations which will be described in section 2.122.¹

In a long sequence of high and low tonemes occurring in a phrase intonation pattern known as 'downdrift' (described at the phrase level), a high toneme occurring towards the end of the phrase may, in fact, be realized at a lower pitch than a low toneme occurring at the beginning of the phrase. When this happens, the high toneme is distinguished from the low toneme by the fact that the high toneme is always higher in pitch than the immediately preceding low toneme.

2.122 BITONAL COMBINATIONS

Single tonemes occur over short syllables, and long syllables carry bitonal combinations. A sequence of two different tonemes occurring over a single long syllable is here described as a glide.

1. The occurrence of this mid tone is being further investigated.

In Lòkée, the following bitonal combinations of similar or different tonemes are found to occur:

(i) a bitonal combination of two high tonemes, which we shall call the 'long high tone', write with acute ´ over the syllable nuclear segment, and symbolize [H:] in formulae. It occurs in both prefatory and radical phonological morphs of P-words, e.g.

wèn wé Ó:-tá¹ 'the son of Otu'
lò-ké: 'language'
ô-tál 'type of palm-wine'
è-yáu 'spot'
kò-kém 'fence'

(ii) a bitonal combination of two low tonemes, which we shall call the 'long low tone', write with grave ` over the syllable nuclear segment, and symbolize [L:] in formulae. Like the long high tone, it occurs in both pre-radical and radical P-morphs, e.g.

ké lò:-sè 'on the ground'
Ò:-mìnì óyáu kèn 'Omini is inside'
è-yáu 'sacrifice'
è-tòm 'life'

(iii) a bitonal combination consisting of a high toneme followed by a low toneme in the same syllable, which we shall call the 'high-low glide', write with ^ over the syllable nuclear segment, and symbolize [HL] in formulae. Like the two preceding bitonal combinations, the high-low glide occurs in both prefatory and radical P-morphs, e.g.

1. The absence of slashes or square brackets implies the use of a preliminary practical orthography. This is being adopted particularly in the sample texts on pp. 335 ff.

ô:-yê: mâ:, dẽ:-m̃ 'when he comes, call me'.

lô-kê: 'face'

é-kâŋ 'argument'

(iv) a bitonal combination consisting of a low toneme followed by a high toneme in the same syllable, which we shall call the 'low-high glide', write with ˘ over the syllable nuclear segment, and symbolize [LH] in formulae. Like all the preceding bitonal combinations, it occurs in both pre-radical and radical P-morphs, e.g.

ðbâsè ǒ:-tèi íyà:sí 'It has not rained today'

é-sǎ:mā 'corn'

kò-kǎm 'ritual association'

wǒl 'body'

(v) a bitonal combination consisting of a low toneme followed by a mid tone in the same syllable, which we shall call the 'low-mid glide', write with ˙ over the syllable nuclear segment, and symbolize [LM] in formulae. Unlike the preceding bitonal combinations, the low-mid glide is a grammatical tone, which occurs only in the pre-radical P-morph of verbs as a partial realization of the future negative verb-form, e.g.

kèblô: ǹ:-kòu. 'I shall not go to the farm'

yâ:bí lòwí yǎ:tà:, à:kà bà lújí ǒ:-kè:

'If you don't fetch water, your mother won't give you food'

The low-mid glide is distinguished from the more frequently

occurring low-high glide in that the high toneme of the LH glide rises significantly higher than the mid-tone rise characterizing the low-mid glide. Compare, for example,

ké mótó ímà: ǎ:-kèbî 'he will not spoil the car'
 with ké mótó ímà: ǎ:-kèbî 'he has not spoilt the car'

and ǎ:-jòdà 'he will not slip'
 with ǎ:-jòdà 'he **did** not slip'

(vi) a bitonal combination consisting of a high toneme followed by a mid tone in the same syllable, which we shall call the high-mid glide, write [^] over the syllable nuclear segment, and symbolize [HM] in formulae. Unlike any of the preceding bitonal combinations, it occurs only at P-word junctures where the high tone of an elided vowel combines with a low-mid glide, e.g.

/ké + ǎ:-dò:/ → [k[^]ǎ:dò:] 'he will not lose(it)'
 /b[^]é + ǎ:-kè:/ → [b[^]ǎ:kè:] 'he won't see them'

The high-mid glide is distinguished from the high-low glide which may occur in this position, in that the low toneme of the HL glide falls significantly lower than the mid tone down-step characterizing the high-mid glide. Compare, for instance,

[wé k[^]ǎ:jèm] < /wé ké + ǎ:-jèm/ 'he won't forget (it)'
 with [wé kǎ:jémí] < /wé ké + ǎ:-jémí/ 'he didn't forget (it)'
 and [y[^]ǎ:yà:] < /y[^]é + ǎ:-yà:/ 'he won't tear it(the cloth)'
 with [y[^]ǎ:yǎi] < /y[^]ǎ:-yǎi/ 'if we tear(it)'

The high-mid glide also differs from the long high tone which may also occur in this position, in that there is a perceptible slight down-step following the high tone of the HM tone which is absent in the H: tone. Compare, for example,

[kô:kəbî] < /kē + ǔ:-kəbî/ 'he won't spoil(it)'
 with [kó:-kəbî] < /kē + ǔ:-kəbî/ 'he has not spoilt(it)'
 and [kô:kəu] < /ká + ǔ:-kəu/ 'he won't go there'
 with [kó:kəi] < /ká + ǔ:-kəi/ 'he did not go there'

The occurrence of all these bitonal combinations is further noted under section 2.51.

2.1221 Interpretation of Bitonal Combinations

Of the six bitonal combinations, only the first four, H:, L:, HL and LH, will be considered here, since these alone occur regularly, like the two basic tones, in both prefatory and radical P-morphs.

The following pairs of P-words have been recorded for contrast in tone and meaning:

lîpô:	'cups'	lîpô:	'flowers'
lôké:	'language', 'word'	lôkê:	'face'
kôbô:	'hand', 'arm'	kôbô:	'moving out of husband's house'
kêdêi	'love'	kêdêi	'buying'
lêtă:	'hernia'	lêtâ:	'stone'

yàněǎn	'woman'	yànèn	'people'
èkǎo:	'snail'	èkǎo:	'camwood'
éfém	'crocodile'	Èfèn	'proper name'
èkǎo:	'advice'	ékǎo:	'friendship'
ôplǎkǎ kě	'he has woken up'	ô:plǎkǎ kě	'when he has woken up'

The bitonal combinations appear to contrast with one another and with the single tonemes, suggesting that they are tone phonemes, and that the words constitute minimal or near-minimal pairs.

We have not, however, interpreted these bitonal combinations as tone phonemes because the minimal pairs they form appear to be ambiguous, in the sense that the contrast in meaning between each pair of words is not necessarily due to the contrast in bitonal combination. In fact, it is quite probable that the lexical and/or grammatical contrast between bitonal combinations stems from the basic contrast between high and low tonemes.

Furthermore, it would seem both unnecessary and undesirable to interpret each bitonal combination as a toneme, when each combination is composed of two basic single tonemes, and when such an interpretation would add five or six more to the present number of suprasegmental phonemes.

2.2 THE SYLLABLE UNIT

The consonants, vowels and tonemes described above function as constituents of the syllable.

2.21 Structure

In phonetic terms, the syllable may generally be defined as a stretch of speech sound characterized by a single peak of sonority carrying a tone unit and of one or two morae duration. The duration of the mora is not absolute, but it may be slightly shortened or extended in agitated or emphatic speech. Although it is relatively easy to identify a syllable, it is not so easy to define it objectively, as it is generally known (cf. for instance, Peter Ladefoged (1975) pp. 217-222 and David Abercrombie (1967), pp. 34-36). Our definition here is no more than a functional one.

2.211 A syllable of one mora duration, described as a short syllable, consists of a tone-carrying sonorant peak or syllabic nucleus corresponding with the central phase of the syllable, which may be either a short vocoid or a short syllabic nasal. When the nucleus is a vocoid, it is optionally bounded on one side by a prenuclear margin (or onset) corresponding with the releasing phase of the nucleus and consisting of a single contoid or cluster of two. The short syllable tone is either a high or a low toneme.

2.212 A syllable of two morae duration, described as a long syllable, consists of a tone-carrying sonorant peak or syllabic nucleus corresponding with the central phase of the syllable, which may be a short vocoid, a long vocoid or a long syllabic nasal. When the nucleus is a short vocoid, it is obligatorily bounded on either side by a margin, the releasing phase of the nucleus by a prenuclear margin consisting, as in the short syllable, of a single contoid or a sequence of two,

and the arresting phase of the nucleus (or coda) by a postnuclear margin consisting of a single contoid characterized by a sonority which is less prominent and less audible than that of the syllable nucleus. But when the nucleus is a lone vocoid, it is optionally bounded initially by a nuclear margin of one or two contoids.

2.213 The long syllable tone, as earlier described, may be a long high tone, a long low tone, or one of four glides: high-low [HL], low-high [LH], high-mid [HM] or low-mid [LM].

2.214 In Lòkée, the phonemic syllable coincides with its phonetic counterpart. Each phonemic syllable has an obligatory vowel or syllabic nasal nucleus, which may be short or long and carrying an appropriate tone, while its margins, which may be obligatory or optional, are realized by consonants. The prenuclear margin may be simple or complex, i.e. consisting of one consonant or a cluster of two, but the postnuclear margin is always simple, invariably realized by a sonorant consonant or exceptionally by /b/ and symbolized C_f in formulae. /l/ and /ŋ/ in C_f position are lightly articulated.

2.215 Following this definition, distinctive structures of Lòkée syllables may be formulated as follows:

(a) Short syllables, on the one hand, are characterized, in terms of their segmental phonemes, by three structures:

$$\begin{array}{c} C_1(C)V \\ V \\ \dot{N} \end{array}$$

and, in terms of their suprasegmental phonemes, by either the high or the low toneme.

(b) Long syllables, on the other hand, are characterized, in terms of their segmental phonemes, by four structures:

$C_1(C)VC_f$
 $C_1(C)V:$
 $V:$
 $N:$

and, in terms of their suprasegmental phonemes, by bitonal combinations of similar or diverse tonemes (cf. section 2.213).

In this patterning of segmental and suprasegmental phonemes, tone is spread over the whole syllable, i.e. not only over the sonorant peak, but also over the less sonorant coda segment, if present.

2.22 Phoneme Distribution

Syllable segmental and suprasegmental phonemes together do not have any meaning in themselves. They are significant only in the framework of the phonological morph and the P-word in which they function. A description of the distribution of these phonemes within the syllable will, therefore, be undertaken at these levels.

2.3 THE PHONOLOGICAL MORPH UNIT

2.31 The Phonological morph (P-morph) is the intermediate phonological unit that lies between the syllable and the phonological word. It coincides with the grammatical morpheme, and comprises sometimes one syllable and sometimes two or even more syllables. It functions as a constituent of the P-word, just as the syllable functions as a constituent of the phonological morph, and the phoneme as a constituent of the syllable.

2.32 Classes of Phonological Morphs

Three classes of phonological morphs may be distinguished according to their contrastive function in the P-word:

(a) the pre-radical (or prefatory) phonological morph, corresponding to the prefix morpheme of grammatical words.

Examples (pre-radical P-morph underlined):

lè-tú 'head'
kò-bó: 'hand'
è-mà 'mouth'
ú-kpò 'towel'
m-fè 'feet'; 'legs'
fi-sá 'game of draughts'

Note that the pre-radical P-morph always occurs word-initially.

(b) the radical phonological morph, corresponding to one or more¹ radical morphemes of grammatical words.

Examples (radical P-morph underlined):

lì-té:mì 'farm'
yè-jó 'yams'
é-kò-blámí: 'shirt'
lé-tèn-dém 'male lizard'

The last two are examples of a P-morph corresponding to two radical morphemes (separated by a hyphen) occurring in a grammatical word.²

(c) the post-radical (or suffix) phonological morph, corresponding

1. Complex words consisting of two radical morphemes are common. Complex words comprising more than three or four radical morphemes are rather rare (cf. sections 2.42122 and 3.31221).
2. For more details, cf. 2.42122.

to the suffix morpheme of grammatical words.

Examples (post radical P-morph underlined)

Ômîñî-é 'Omini' (after the second call).
áwîlé-ô 'Hello!' (lit. you did not go to the farm!)
bên yádái Ômîñî-á lègà 'the children laughed at Omini'

Note that the post-radical morph always occurs word-finally. (For more details and examples, cf. section 2.42123).

2.4 THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD UNIT

Phonological words (P-words) consist of P-morphs, the radical P-morph being an obligatory constituent. Thus, pre-radical and post-radical morphs may only occur as elements in the structure of a P-word, while a radical P-morph may occur alone as the sole constituent of a P-word.

Examples of P-words consisting of the three classes of morphs (the morphs underlined and separated by a hyphen):

ŋkə kə E-yón-á 'I have seen Eyong'
mā: òdó ò-dém-á
'That is her husband'

Examples of P-words consisting of the radical P-morph alone.

wǒl 'body', 'bodies'
yòl 'snake', 'snakes'
jǔmmà 'nose', 'noses'

tǒntǒŋ 'pigeon', 'pigeons'

dě:dê:sà 'night', 'nights'

ké 'see'

nòná 'cook'

2.41 Classes of Phonological Words

Phonological words may be divided into two main classes:
verbal and non-verbal.

Verbal P- words are congruent with verbs, which may be described as simple, main or auxiliary. Examples (underlined):

simple verb: òbàsè ótè:yì ájá:jí ímìn

'It is raining now'

main verb: òbàsè ótũ òtè:ídè:sì

'This is a very rainy year'

auxiliary: òbàsè ótũ òtè:ídè:sì

Non-verbal P-words are congruent with grammatical nouns (on which we shall be concentrating within the scope of this brief phonology), numerals, pronouns, demonstratives, adjectives, possessives, interrogatives, relative markers, clitics and particles.

Examples:

nouns: [´]Úbì 'proper name'

lîdà 'folk-tale'

ítòm 'shrine'

képólé 'sign'

lètĩmā 'door'

numerals(underlined): ɔ̀nɛ̀n wàná 'one man'

yànɛ̀n yàpǒ: 'two people'

pronouns: ămí 'I'

àwú 'you'(singular)

demonstrative(underlined): ɔ̀nɛ̀n ímā: 'that man'

yànɛ̀n bímín 'these people'

adjectives(underlined) ɔ̀nɛ̀n ɔ̀dɔ́:dó 'another man'

yànɛ̀n yàpé-yàpé 'new people'

possessives(underlined): wèn ɔ̀mí 'my child'

ètòm éwé 'his life'

interrogatives: ńbɔ̀ŋ 'what?'

yápāŋ 'how many?'

relative markers(underlined): ɔ̀nɛ̀n wé ɔ̀wú:yí mìn...

'the man who lives here...'

yànɛ̀n bɛ́ yàwú:yí mìn...

'the people who live here...'

clitics(underlined): èwì nɛ́ émá kèdó:wé

'The sun will shine in the evening'

yáwè kè yònénén yóbé

'They have finished their work'

particles(underlined): ké kà:wón 'in heaven', 'on top'

blòŋ bɛ́ ɔ́:tínè 'Qtine's things'

2.42 Structure and Phoneme Distribution of Phonological Words:

This section covers nominal and verbal P-words. Both classes of P-words will be described in terms of their constituent P-morphs.

2.421 Nominal Phonological Words

2.4211 The Pre-radical Phonological Morph of Nominal P-Words:

(a) Structure

The pre-radical phonological morph of nominal P-words is congruent with the concord-class prefix of nouns. Almost always monosyllabic,¹ it may be realized by a short or long syllable structure. A noun occurring in its isolate form may not be marked by a long-syllable-structured pre-radical P-morph. The short syllable structures are: CV-, V- and N-, each marked by a high or low toneme.

Examples (pre-radical P-morph underlined):

CV- /lè-kó/ 'war'
/kú-blènì/ 'sleeping mat'
/yà-ká:lán/ 'non-Africans', 'whitemen'

V- /í-kpé/ 'lawsuit'
/é-plá/ 'market'
/ò-nò:tám/ 'old person'

N- /N-bó:/ 'hands'
/N-dòbà/ 'mud'
/N-káu/ 'kernels'

1. But disyllabic in kén-dém, kén-jèn, kén-kòŋ and their derivatives, see below.

The long syllable structures are: CV:- V:- and N:-, each of which is appropriately marked by one of the following bitonal combinations: H:, L:, HL or LH.

Examples:

CV:- /Kè:-kpí òtǎ: Ntēn èbē: kēkpānǐ/
 'Tortoise is the cleverest animal of all'
 /kēfētó sē yó:-nǐ/ 'elephant's footprint'
 /ékò yó yā:nēn/ 'a woman's cloth'

V:- /â:-kà ófúńí kēn/
 'Your mother is coming'
 /E:-sén mīn kǐŋ/ 'Where is Ezen now?'

N:- /N:-tēm òyéní lújí jímin/
 'This food belongs to Ntēm'
 /ké N:-kpòn/ 'on hills'

Three nouns, /kēNǎm/ 'bottom', /kēNjèn/ 'banana' and /kēNkòŋ/ 'knife' and their derivative forms present some problem of interpretation as to whether or not they have pre-radical P-morphs consisting of two syllables (cf. 2.1132).

The difficulty here is that it is as undesirable to treat these nouns as containing disyllabic pre-radical P-morphs, as it is unsatisfactory to consider a syllabic nasal as constituting the initial phoneme of a noun stem, since both disyllabicity and the

syllabic nasal do not otherwise realize this position in the language.

Having examined both options carefully, we have decided in favour of analyzing the pre-radical P-morphs of these nouns as disyllabic, i.e. with the structure CV·N- or V·N-, where the dot marks the syllable break. There are two reasons.

The first is that the syllabic nasal does at least occur frequently in the pre-radical phonological morph of other nouns.

The second is that our solution at least respects the general rule by which all stem initial phonemes are consonantal.

Both syllables are marked regularly by a high and a low toneme respectively.

(b) Phoneme Distribution

(i) The C position may only be realized by a restricted set of consonants: /l/, /y/ and /k/.

(ii) The V position in the CV, V, CV: and V: syllable types may be realized by any vowel except the central mid vowel /ə/, the most common being /ɛ/, /e/, /ɔ/ and /o/ in that order.

The following table was compiled from three sources: a translation of Chapter I of St. Mark's Gospel, three Lòkée folk-tales narrated by Mr. Ibòr Eteng Obeten and transcribed by Mr. F.D.D.

Winston in 1956, and a lexicon of over 400 nouns. It gives a rough idea of the relative frequency of the seven vowels that occur in the prefatory phonological morph position, either alone or in combination with the occurring consonants:

Vowels	i	e	ɛ	ə	a	u	o	ɔ	Total
No. of Occurrences	53	111	117	0	40	25	65	67	478
Percentage	11	23.2	24.5	0	8.4	5.2	13.6	14	99.9

Vowel Frequency in the Nominal Prefatory P-Morph.

It may be noted that /l/ and /a/ do not co-occur in the pre-radical P-morph position, except in the proper name /Lâ-kốŋ/, which is probably of foreign origin.

The occurrence of a mid or low set vowel in this position is regulated by the rule of vowel harmony which states that no vowel from the mid set may, in principle, occur in the pre-radical P-morph of the same word in which a vowel from the low set occurs as first radical syllable nucleus, and vice versa.

In practice, the mid central vowel never occurs in the pre-radical P-morph, the low central vowel /a/ invariably occurring wherever /ə/ might otherwise be expected.

The following table and examples are a summary representation of the rule of vowel harmony:

		Pre-radical			First Radical		
		P-morph Vowel			Syllable Vowel		
		Front	Central	Back	Front	Central	Back
(a)	Mid	e		o	e	ə	o
	Low		a				
(b)	Low	ɛ	a	ɔ	ɛ	a	ɔ

Summary Representation of Vowel Harmony.

Examples:

- (a) /kɛ̣-bɛ̣n/ 'chin' /lɔ̣-tɛ̣/ 'song'
 /lɛ̣-kɔ̣/ 'war' /kɔ̣-tɔ̣n/ 'gift'
- /kɛ̣-gɛ̣l/ 'thorn' /kɔ̣-tɛ̣n/ 'roof'
 /yɛ̣-tɛ̣m/ 'prayers' /ɛ̣-dɛ̣n/ 'fatness'
 /kɛ̣-kɔ̣:/ 'pig'
- (b) /ɛ̣-sɛ̣/ 'tail', 'feather' /yɛ̣-nɛ̣n/ 'people'
 /ɛ̣-yɛ̣/ 'filter' /ɛ̣-plɛ̣/ 'market'
 /ɛ̣-tɛ̣:/ 'stones' /lɔ̣-kɔ̣:dɛ̣/ 'snail'

This rule enables us to simplify the symbolization of the mid and low front or back vowels occurring in the pre-radical P-morph position by the use of capital letters to symbolize mid or low front vowels and mid or low back vowels, thus:

E = e or ɛ

O = o or ɔ

the selection of one symbol or the other being determined according to whether the vowel contained in the first radical syllable of that word belongs to the mid or low set.

It should be added that where the first vowel of the radical P-morph is /i/ or /u/, the selection of /e/, /o/ or /ɛ/, /ɔ/ as the pre-radical P-morph vowel cannot be predicted, but is constant for a given word. Thus, we have /lè-jí/ 'palm-nut', /yò-jí/ 'oil palm' (never ɛ, ɔ), but /ɛ-kpí/ 'kind of snake' (never o).

It should be noted also that the occurrence of the high vowel set in the pre-radical P-morph of nouns cannot be predicted,

/í-kpé/	'lawsuit'	/ú-kpò/	'towel'
/ì-tàn/	'helmet'	/ú-kwá/	'canoe'

(iii) N occurring in the pre-radical P-morph position is always homorganic with the following consonant, as earlier mentioned (cf. 2.1131).

While the greatest majority of nominal P-words have a syllabic pre-radical P-morph of their own as described above, there are a few nouns which do not have one in isolation. Nouns with a zero-pre-radical P-morph may be identified in one of the following ways:

(i) Monosyllabic Nouns:

Monosyllabic nouns have the obligatory radical P-morph only. They include nouns such as:

/bǒŋ/	'thing'	/blǒŋ/	'things'
/děl/	'year(s)'	/děl/	'night(s)'
/jěŋ/	'name'	/yěŋ/	'names'
/jěŋ/	'eye'	/yěŋ/	'eyes'
/wěŋ/	'child'	/běŋ/	'children'
/wǒl/	'body,' 'bodies'	/yǐl/	'hair'
/tǒl/	'cold'	/yǒl/	'snake'

(ii) Nouns without /l/, /y/ or /k/ as initial Consonant

Non-monosyllabic nouns beginning with a consonant other than one of the restricted set of consonants occurring in the pre-radical P-morph position have been identified as having no pre-radical P-morph of their own, because they automatically acquire a prefixal linking vowel /a/ when the grammatical context requires the presence of a pre-radical P-morph. The grammatical context in which the acquired prefix is required always imposes a long syllable structure on the pre-radical P-morph.

Examples.

/bàněŋ/	'women'	:	ŋkô yé á:-bàněŋ	'women's clothes'
/jǔmà/	'nose'	:	bǒŋ ké â:-jǔmà	'something on the nose'
/tǒntǒŋ/	'pigeon'	:	èsé yé á:-tǒntǒŋ	'a pigeon's feather'
/dě:dē:sà/	'night'	:	ké â:-dě:dē:sà	'at night'

Other nouns identified as zero-pre-radical P-morph are /bǎ:nì/ 'urine', /bǒmbǒŋ/ 'anything'.

There are some ambiguous cases where it is difficult to say whether or not a noun has a pre-radical P-morph. /yàně̃n/ 'woman' is a good example. The initial syllable /yâ-/ has a structure very much like that of the pre-radical P-morph of many nouns, e.g. /yâ-nèn/ 'people', /yâ-têmî/ 'gimlets'. When the noun occurs in grammatical contexts requiring a pre-radical P-morph, it does not acquire the prefixal linking vowel /a/ which it would have done if it were zero-pre-radical P-morph. Thus, we have ékò yé yâ:-ně̃n 'a woman's cloth'. It may, therefore, be said that, phonologically, /yâ-/ is the pre-radical P-morph of /yàně̃n/. But the analysis is complicated by the fact that yâ- is, grammatically, a plural pre-radical P-morph, as in /yâ-nèn/ and /yâ-têmî/. And since /yàně̃n/ is a singular noun, it is difficult to see how it can function as a pre-radical P-morph. Furthermore, it has been observed that one of two or more forms of the same noun cannot have a pre-radical P-morph while the other form or one of the other forms has been identified as zero-prefix. And in this case, since /băně̃n/ is zero-prefix, yàně̃n cannot have a pre-radical P-morph. The conclusion that may be drawn from this is that yàně̃n presents a case where there is divergence between what is a grammatical prefix and a phonological pre-radical P-morph.

Other ambiguous cases are presented by nouns designating family relationships:

m̃:-mùkâ	'my mother'	bě̃ m̃:-mùkâ	'our mothers'
â:-kâ	'your mother'	bě̃ â:-kâ	'your mothers'

yâ:-kâ 'his mother' bɛ̌ yâ:-kâ 'his mothers'
 û:-wɔ̌u 'my father' bɛ̌ û:-wɔ̌u 'my fathers'
 â:-wɔ̌u 'your father' bɛ̌ â:-wɔ̌u 'your fathers'
 yâ:-tɛ̌ 'his father' bɛ̌ yâ:-tɛ̌ 'his fathers'

Compare with

Ô:-bétèn 'Obeten' (proper name) bɛ̌ Ô:-bétèn 'those called Obeten'

The form in which these nouns are presented here (with the 'pre-radical P-morph' underlined) represents our final analysis, which is based on the similarity of phonological behaviour of these nouns and proper names in similar grammatical contexts. But the prefixes listed here are, to say the least, peculiar. The syllabic nasal of /m̃:-mùkâ/ is a plural prefix, e.g. /m̃-fè/ 'legs' /m̃-bó:/ 'arms', and so is the /â-/ of /â:-kâ/ and /â:-wɔ̌u/, e.g. /â-tú/ 'heads', /â-kpò/ 'knots', or the /yâ-/ of /yâ:-kâ/ and /yâ:-tɛ̌/, e.g. /yâ-kpê:/ 'hawks', /yâ-dém/ 'men'. Furthermore, the prefixes have a possessive meaning, which ordinary nouns do not have. We may therefore conclude once more that there is here a dichotomy between what constitutes a phonological pre-radical P-morph and a grammatical prefix.

2.4212 Radical Phonological Morphs in Nominal P-Words

Radical P-morphs, like radical morphemes, with which they are congruent, may be simple or complex. They are simple when the nominal P-word contains one radical morpheme, and complex when the

nominal P-word contains more than one radical morpheme.

2.42121 The Simple Radical Phonological Morph

The simple radical P-morph is monosyllabic in the great majority of nominal P-words. But disyllabic radical P-morphs are not uncommon. Nominal P-words with three-syllable or four-syllable radical P-morphs also exist, but these number no more than a handful, and almost always contain some form of reduplication.

(a) The Monosyllabic Radical Phonological Morph Structure

The monosyllabic radical phonological morph of nominal P-words may be realized by the following structures:

- (i) - $C_1 (C) V_1$
- (ii) - $C_1 (C) V_1:$
- (iii) $(-)C_1 (C) V_1 C_f$

A pre-radical P-morph is obligatory for the realization of structures (i) and (ii), but optional for structure (iii). Short syllables are marked by either high or low tonemes; long syllables are marked by bitonal combinations.

Phoneme Distribution

The C_1 position (radical initial consonant) may be realized by any consonant, except the velar nasal ¹, and the C_1C position (radical initial consonant cluster) by the consonant clusters listed above in section 2.11143.

1. Note that it occurs freely as syllable-initial consonant in other radical structures, e.g. /á-ŋàlà/ 'edible leaf', /lé-dúúŋí/ 'knee.'

The V_1 position (radical nuclear vowel) is realized by any vowel, which may be short or long.

The C_f position (syllable final consonant) may be realized by any sonorant, i.e. /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /l/, /y/ or /w/. Exceptionally, C_f may be realized by the unexploded allophone of /t/ or of /b/ as in è-bàt 'axe' and jīb 'fifteen'.

Examples of nouns with a $-C_1V_1$ structured radical P-morph:

- /lé-pó/ 'joint'
- /è-mā/ 'mouth'
- /ŋ-tó/ 'houses'
- /kò-kpò/ 'secret agreement'

Examples of nouns with a $-C_1CV_1$ structured radical P-morph:

- /é-plá/ 'market'
- /è-blá/ 'dog'
- /yà-mlē/ 'oil'
- /ù-kwà/ 'cultural association'
- /í-gwè/ 'proper name'

Examples of nouns with a $-C_1V_1$ structured radical P-morph:

- /kè-pó:/ 'plate'
- /lè-tā:/ 'stone'
- /ŋ-kpǒ:/ 'yam barn'
- /é-kò:/ 'friendship'

Examples of nouns with a $-C_1CV_1$: structured radical P-morph:

/kè-plê:/ 'fufu'
 /kè-blê:/ 'farming'
 /lè-mlê:/ 'voice'
 /é-mlê:/ 'the world of the dead'

Examples of nouns with a $-C_1V_1C_f$ structured radical P-morph:

/é-góm/ 'fish-hook' /lò-pòn/ 'town', 'country'
 /è-bón/ 'mortar' /è-tèl/ 'rainy season'
 /kè-pôi/ 'wound' /kè-káu/ 'bone'
 /lè-mùn/ 'flesh' /lí-jàn/ 'quarrel'

Many examples of $C_1V_1C_f$ structured nouns, i.e. without a pre-radical P-morph, have already been given above under monosyllabic nouns. But it may be noted that the distribution of C_1 is restricted to only seven consonants, i.e. /b/, /t/, /d/, /j/, /s/, /y/, and /w/. This is probably quite arbitrary and accidental.

Examples of nouns with a $-C_1CV_1C_f$ structured radical P-morph:

/kè-blón/ 'dirt', 'blackness' /kú-blàn/ 'slimy saliva'
 /lò-plên/ 'horn' /kè-mlên/ 'finger-nail'
 /lò-plén/ 'emergency exit' /kò-plón/ 'smell'

Note that the C_f position in this structure is largely restricted to the velar nasal.

Note also that when the structure is not preceded by a pre-

radical P-morph, the C_1C position is considerably less extensive; it is, in fact, limited to the cluster /bl/ occurring in only one recorded noun, /blõŋ/ 'things.'¹

(b) The Disyllabic Radical Phonological Morph Structure

The disyllabic radical P-morph of simple nominal P-words may be realized by the following syllable patterns, which are, more often than not, preceded by a pre-radical P-morph:

- (i) $-C_1(C)V_1(C_f) \cdot C_2V_2(C_f)$
- (ii) $-C_1(C)V_1 :: C_2V_2(C_f)$

Each structure is marked by an appropriate short or long tone pattern.

Phoneme Distribution

The phoneme distribution in the initial or nuclear syllable of all these structures is similar to that of the monosyllabic radical P-morph, except that the velar nasal now occurs in the C_1 position in the structure $C_1V_1C_2V_2$.

The C_2 position is realized by the six sonorant phonemes of the nasal, lateral and semivowel set, although /b/ has been recorded here in the noun /^hN-dõbà/ 'mud'. The V_2 position is generally restricted to the vowels /i/, /e/ and /a/, although /e/, /ɛ/, /u/, /o/ and /ɔ/ have occasionally been recorded in the slot.

1. The only other non-verbal word realized by this structure is /blêŋ/ 'different', 'wrongly'.

Examples of nouns with the radical structure $-C_1V_1 \cdot C_2V_2$

/lè-jìmè/	'matriclan'	/kò-fíyè/	'brain'
/ló-wènì/	'space'	/á-ṛàlà/	'edible leaf'
/Ṛ-tòṇí/	'okra'	/ò-kówè/	'omen'
/ké-sáwá/	'rattle'	/yì-kòlì/	'bile'
/Ṛ-wènè/	'book'	/Ṛ-kúwé/	'fire-place'

This is the commonest of the various radical disyllabic structures occurring in nouns.

Examples of nouns with the radical structure $-C_1CV_1 \cdot C_2V_2$

/é-blèmi/	'black indigo'	/kú-blènì/	'mat'
/lí-bláyá/	'tale-bearing'	/é-plélé/	'mud shelf'
/Ṛ-kwèlè/	'blacksmithing'	/ó-kwèlè/	'blacksmith'

Examples of nouns with the radical structure $-C_1V_1 : C_2V_2$

/lì-pé:lá/	'grass'	/è-tā:nà/	'ant'
/é-sǎ:mà/	'corn'	/kò-yó:mè/	'test'
/è-sê:ṇé/	'egg'	/kò-dú:wè/	'hiding'

Examples of nouns with the radical structure $-C_1CV_1 : C_2V_2$

/kò-pló:là/	'hissing'	/kò-plú:yì/	'support'
/ké-blé:né/	'promiscuity'	/kò-kwá:lì/	'scratching'

Nouns of this radical structure are mostly derived from verbs.

Examples of nouns with the radical structure $C_1V_1 C_2V_2C_f$

/lò-títàn/	'rib'	/kè-títàn/	'raffia bamboo splinter'
/è-sísòŋ/	'housefly'	/è-sìsòŋ/	'smoke'
/yò-nénŋ/	'work'	/lí-tábòŋ/	'saliva'
/lò-kàtũm/	'foolishness'	/è-nínòŋ/	'finger'

Note that the distribution of C_2 here also includes /t/ and /s/, while V_2 includes /u/, /o/ and /ɔ/. Note also that C_f is realized almost exclusively by the velar nasal. The alveo-palatal semivowel has, exceptionally, been recorded here in the one noun /è-lâbâi/ 'swollen scar'.

Examples of nouns with the radical structure $C_1V_1:C_2V_2C_f$.

/ð-ká:lán/	'whiteman'	/yà-ká:lán/	'white men'
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Nouns of this radical structure are rare.

Examples of nouns with the radical structure $C_1V_1C_f:C_2V_2$

/kò-kpámà/	'government'	/kè-támé/	'willow'
/lé-kónní/	'hate'	/kò-yónnè/	'blessing'
/kè-kânŋá/	'nothing'	/kò-bónŋà/	'burial'

Only nasals may realize the C_f and C_2 positions.

Examples of nouns with the radical structure $C_1CV_1C_f:C_2V_2$

kò-blènné	'shifting'	kò-blàmmá	'embracing'
-----------	------------	-----------	-------------

Nouns with this structure are derived from verbs.

Examples of Nouns with the radical structure - $C_1V_1C_fC_2V_2C_f$

/ù-bòm̀bòm̀/ 'kind of insect' /è-kà̀kà̀/ 'sword'
 /ù-kpà̀kpà̀/ 'fan' /è-kà̀nyà̀/ 'bell'
 /kù-dò̀ndò̀/ 'shadow' /ŋ-yà̀nyà̀/ 'horse'
 /è-dè̀ldè̀/ 'sheep' /ŋ-dè̀ldè̀/ 'sheep'

A number of zero-pre-radical P-morph nouns also have this structure:

/tǒ̀ntǒ̀/ 'pigeon' /bòm̀bòm̀/ 'anything'

(c) The Three- and Four- Syllable Radical Phonological Morphs.

The three-syllable and four-syllable radical phonological morphs of simple nominal P-words are almost all realized by the same basic structure of extended CV syllables involving some form of reduplication, as the following examples show.

Examples of nouns with the radical Structure $C_1V_1C_1V_1C_2V_2$.

/à-kók̀óná/ 'anger', 'hatred'
 /ó-kpót̀ót̀/ 'wooden stool'
 /lé-dúd̀úf/ 'knee'
 /ké-kók̀òwà/ 'shoulder'
 /é-kpók̀kpò̀nà/ 'star'
 /ké-kílikà/ 'kind of plant'
 /é-kpìlìbà/ 'kind of cocoyam'
 /ó-bùd̀ómé/ 'kind of edible leaf'
 /è-kò̀kò̀f/ 'bee'

A modification of this structure is recorded in the one noun ò-kà̀lálà̀ 'white man'.

Examples of nouns with the radical structure $C_1V_1C_1V_1C_1V_1C_2V_2$

/yí-kìlíkìlí/ 'weaver bird'

/ò-tùlúbàbà/ 'kind of masquerade'

2.42122 The Complex Radical Phonological Morph

The structures of complex radical phonological morphs and their phoneme distribution are determined by the structures and phoneme distribution of the constituent radical P-morphs. The minimum number of syllables in a complex radical P-morph is two, but radical P-morphs of three or more syllables are not rare.

Examples.

-CV-CV, e.g. /lò-tí-dù/ < /kè-tí/ + /lò-dù/

'fruit' 'tree' 'round'

-CV-CV-CV, e.g. /è-tó-fá-tì/ < /è-tó/ + /é-fá/ + /è-tì/

'street' 'house' 'groove' 'road'

-CVC-CVC, e.g. /ó-tèn-dém/ < /ké-tèn/ + /ò-dém/

'male lizard' 'lizard' 'male'

-CV·CV·CVC - CV e.g. /lé-bóníbé-kpà/ < /ké-bóníbé/ + /lè-kpà/

'bowels' 'dregs' 'bag'

-CV: CVC - CV, e.g. /è-ká:lán-tó/ < /ò-ká:lán/ + /è-tó/

'brick house' 'whiteman' 'house'

-CV CV CVC CV-CV e.g. /è-jèlìkàndà-sé/ < /è-jèlìkàndà/ + /è-sé/

'ostrich feather' 'ostrich' 'feather'

Segmental and suprasegmental phoneme changes sometimes take place at the P-morph junctures in complex P-words. These changes are summarized and illustrated below:

(a) Segmental Phoneme Changes

When a P-morph ends in a CVC_f syllable structure, the syllable-final C_f becomes homorganic with the initial consonant of the following P-morph, if the C_f is a nasal, e.g.

/yĩ-nò <u>n</u> /	+ /ò-màn/	→	[ò-nò <u>m</u> -màn]
'bird'	'female'		'hen'
/ké-tè <u>m</u> /	+ /ò-dém/	→	[ó-tè <u>n</u> -dém]
'lizard'	'male'		'male lizard'
/è-tě <u>n</u> /	+ /kè-káu/	→	[kè-tě <u>n</u> -káu]
animal	'bone'		'animal bone'

C_f is retained, if it is the alveo-palatal semivowel, e.g.

/lé-bó <u>i</u> /	+ /è-tí/	→	[é-bó <u>i</u> -tí]
'house-building'	'stick'		'stick used in house building'

C_f is dropped, if it is the labio-velar semivowel, e.g.

/yò-gá <u>u</u> /	+ /è-tí/	→	[è-gá-tí]
'mushroom'	'stick'		'a single mushroom'

C_f is dropped, if it is the lateral consonant. At the same time, the vowel nucleus preceding /l/ is lengthened when marked by either a low toneme or a rising glide, but usually remains short when marked by a high toneme, e.g.

/è-kpè <u>l</u> /	+ /kò-fè/	→	[kò-kpè:-fè]
'chair'	'leg'		'leg of a chair'

/è-fèl/ + /lè-mà/ → [lè-fè:-mà]

'rabbit' 'hole' 'rabbits hole'

/é-tál/ + /ké-pémì/ → [ké-tá-pémì]

'kite' 'wing' 'a kite's wing'

/è-kpél/ + /lè-típì/ → [lè-kpé-típì]

'piece of wood' 'short stick' 'wooden mallet'

/è-dél/ + /lè-wì/ → [lè-dé-wì]

'shrine' 'day' 'day of sacrifice'

but /ò-ból/ + /è-tó/ → [è-bó:-tó]

'chief' 'family', 'house' 'royal family', 'chief's house'

/ò-ból/ + /kè-tí/ → [kè-bó:-tí]

'seat' 'chief's chair'

(b) Suprasegmental Phoneme Changes

As may have been evident from the examples given above, the tone pattern of a complex radical P-morph is generally the combined tone patterns of the constituent simple radical P-morphs, but not always so. The tone sequence of a complex radical P-morph may differ from that of the component radical P-morphs when one of the simple radical P-morphs contains : a syllable marked by a tone glide, in which case the following rules apply:

(i) when a LH glide occurs in a non-final radical P-morph, it becomes low tone when immediately followed by a high tone, i.e. the expected rise of the glide does not take place, e.g.

/lò-wǎ:/ + /kò-bó:/ → [kè-wà:-bó:]

'leaf' 'arm' 'leafy branch'

but /lò-wǎ:/ + /lè-kpà/ → [lè-wǎ:-kpà]
 'bag' 'bag of leaves'

(ii) when a LH glide occurs in the final radical P-morph, the rising glide becomes low tone when it is immediately preceded by a high tone, e.g.

/ò-dém/ + /wǎn/ → [ó-dén-wǎn]
 'man' 'child' 'boy'

/yè-jó/ + /lò-wǎ:/ → [lò-jó-wǎ:]
 'yam' 'leaf' 'yam leaf'

but /é-kò/ + /lò-wǎ:/ → [lò-kò-wǎ:]
 'cloth' 'leaf' 'bed-sheet'

(iii) when a HL glide occurring over the final syllable of a non-final radical P-morph is immediately followed by a high-tone syllable, the high tone becomes low, e.g.

/é-kôl/ + /kè-plá/ → [kè-kôl-plà]
 'Ekoi Festival' 'bowl' 'Ekoi Festival bowl'

but /é-kôl/ + /lè-wì/ → [lè-kôl-wì]
 'day' 'Ekoi Festival day'

(iv) when a HL glide marking the final syllable of a radical P-morph is immediately followed by a radical P-morph consisting of two or more syllables bearing high tone, the sequence of high tones immediately following the HL glide becomes low only optionally. Thus, it is correct to say

either [yó-kò-blàmí:-nènènɛŋ] < / é kò-blàmí:/ + /yò-nénénɛŋ/

or [yó-kò-blàmí:-nénénɛŋ] 'shirt' 'work'

'work on a shirt'

The first alternative is, however, the more common.

Other tones, including the HL glide occurring finally over the final radical P-morph, do not appear to be affected by their environment.

2.42123 The Post-radical Phonological Morph of Nominal P-Words

The post-radical P-morph of nominal P-words is congruent with the monosyllabic noun suffixes -ò, -é and -á. -á sometimes becomes -yá when preceded by a front vowel and -wá when preceded by a central or back vowel.

The P-morphs -ò and -é occur with personal names in vocative relation, e.g. Úbì-ò, Ètá-é. -ò is used when a person is being called for the second and third time. The é P-morph suggests that the caller is becoming impatient.

It may be noted that no vowel elision occurs between the final vowel of the radical P-morph and these post-radical P-morphs.

Furthermore, quite often, both P-morphs extend phonetically over more than one mora duration, depending on the emotional state of the caller.

The P-morph -á also occurs affixed to personal names, but only when it is functioning as verbal complement, e.g.

/È:pù ódábí Kèkpí-á lújí/

'Monkey fed Tortoise'

-á also occurs suffixed to any noun except personal names to express the idea of 'capable of', 'suitable for', or of possession, e.g.

[m̩f̩ è:pál-á] 'legs for running(fast)'

[lòwí kè:wá-wá] 'potable water'

[blǒŋ è:tóŋwènè-yá] 'school uniform'

Finally, -á occurring suffixed to the family-unit nouns: òdém 'husband', yàněń 'wife' and wěń 'child', translates 'his' or 'her', depending on whether the possessor is male or female respectively, e.g.

òdém-á 'her husband'

yàněń-á 'his wife'

wěń-á 'his/her child'

Note that the insertion of the consonants /y/ and /w/ before the suffixed -á is an alternative pronunciation to the one applying the rule of word juncture vowel elision (cf. 2.51). Thus, the example given above and translated as 'Monkey fed Tortoise' may be produced phonetically, as

either [È:pù ódábí Kèkpí-yá lújí]

or [È:pù ódábí Kèkpá: lújí]

The second version is more common than the first. And therefore, one is more likely to say [blǒŋ ɛ:tɔŋwənǎ:] than the pronunciation given above.

Note also that -ǎ, like -ò and -é, has a tendency to be articulated longer than one mora.

2.42124 General Remarks on Nominal P-word Syllable and Tone Patterns.

Nominal P-words may consist of one or more syllables. The disyllabic structure is very common, while nouns of more than five syllables are very rare. Out of a list of 200 common nouns compiled at random, 3.5% were monosyllabic, 65% disyllabic, 23% trisyllabic and 8.5% (2% of which are non-complex) of four or more syllables.

When a nominal P-word is monosyllabic, it always has the structure CVC_f and the tone pattern is either L: or LH, e.g.

yǒl	'snake'	wǒl	'body'
dèl	'night'	děl	'year'
jèn	'eye'	jěn	'name'

Disyllabic nominal P-words occur in their isolate form with or without a pre-radical P-morph. Those that have a pre-radical P-morph are by far more common.

The commonest tone pattern of disyllabic nominal P-words that do not possess a pre-radical P-morph of their own in the isolate form is LH·L, e.g.

jũm·mà	'nose'	jǎ:·nì	'ant'
bũ:·sì	'cat'	bǎ:·nì	'urine'

The pre-radical P-morph of disyllabic nominal P-words usually has a short syllable structure, marked predominantly by low tone¹, e.g.

è-mà	'mouth'	kà-kô:	'pig'
yì-dé	'sleep'	lè-kũl	'parcel'
ò-nèn	'person'	é-kò:	'friendship'
è-kón	'fire'	é-wám	'lightning'

All trisyllabic nouns have a pre-radical P-morph, 85-90% of which are marked by low tone. Trisyllabic nouns are fairly common, but a large proportion of them are complex: a list of the first 100 trisyllabic nouns picked at random included 36 complex nouns.;

Trisyllabic nouns are marked by a great variety of tone patterns. The 100 trisyllabic nouns assembled produced 35 different tone patterns of varying numerical membership. The most common patterns were:

- (i) L-L·L with 13 nouns, e.g. lè-jĩmè 'matriclan', è-bà·là 'ravine'
- (ii) L-L·H with 10 nouns, e.g. ù-tù·wó 'buffalo', è-wò·nǎ 'tornado'
- (iii) L-H·L with 9 nouns, e.g. ò-fó·lì 'slave', kò-fí·yè 'brain'
- (iv) L-H·H: with 8 nouns, yò-né·néŋ 'work', è-blá·dól 'tick'

1. The exceptions are discussed in section 2.4211 in connection with the nouns ké·n-dém, ké·n-jèn and ké·n-kòŋ.

- (v) L - H.H with 6 nouns, e.g. lè-kpá.lá 'crowd' yò-jí.jí 'food'
(vi) H-H.H with 6 nouns, e.g. ó-yí.né 'story' ké-já.lá 'barren woman'

Seven other tone patterns had each three nouns, 6 had two nouns each, and the others, 16, had one noun each.

Tonal glides do not mark simple nominal P-words of four or five syllables, but they may occur over the final syllable of complex nouns of four or more syllables, e.g.

è-kò.kò.ní 'bee' ké-kó.kò.wà 'shoulder'
lé-dú.dú.ńí 'knee' ké-kí.lì.kà 'name of plant'

lè-wè.nè-tâ: 'slate' lò-tá.bì-wă: 'tobacco leaf'
é-kò-blà.mí: 'shirt' lé-kì.lí.kì.lí-kpá.là 'weaver bird's nest'

2.422 Verbal Phonological Words

Verbal phonological words consist of a pre-radical and a radical phonological morph. The presence of the radical P-morph is obligatory.

2.4221 The Pre-radical Phonological Morph of Verbal P-Words:

The pre-radical P-morph of a verbal P-word is congruent with the person prefix of the verb.

(a) Structure

Always monosyllabic, it is realized by the following syllable structures:

Short syllables: CV-, V- or N- marked by H or L tone.

Long syllables: CV:-, V:- or N:- marked by L:, H:, LH, HL or LM bitonal combination.

Note that a short syllable marked by a high tone may be phonetically lengthened for emphasis. Thus, /yá-nônâ/ 'they cooked' may be pronounced [yá:-nônâ] to mean 'they cooked really hard, for a long time.'

(b) Phoneme Distribution

In the CV- or CV:- syllable structures, the C position may be realized by the same set of consonants as occur there in the pre-radical P-morph of nominal P-words, i.e. /k/, /l/ and /y/.

The V position in these two structures, as well as in the V- and V:- patterns, may be realized by any vowel, except /ə/, which also does not occur in this position in nominal P-words, and /u/ the absence in this position of which is specific to verbal P-words. It should be further noted that /i/, which occurs as a pre-radical P-morph in nominal P-words, does not realize the V- or V:- syllable position in verbal P-words. Finally, /i/ and /a/ do not occur, respectively, with /k/ and /l/ in the CV- and CV:- prefatory syllable types.

With regard to the N- or N:- syllable structures, they may be realized by any of the five allophones of the syllabic nasal, and

each choice is determined by the point of articulation of the following consonant.

Examples.

CV-, V-, and N- [H or L] syllable structures:

/kèblê: k_e-tù_m k_e-nì:nè/ 'Farming is a hard job'

/yànèn yá-wú:yí mìn/ 'People live here'

/lìmàn jí_{mà}: lí-kpòkà/ 'The money is lost'

/ó-pùwè kè lèmlě: lémì/ 'He has taken my advice'

/ŋ:imā: ímā: ó-yáu ké kò:nànā/ 'The woman is cooking'

/á-kù:yì bōŋ?/ 'Where are you going?'

/èbú ímā: é-jí: lìwǎ:/ 'The goat is eating leaves'

/ŋ-pèn ké lēmā/ 'I have closed the door'

/ŋ-dìb^é ò.kè/ 'I have caught you'

CV:-, V:- or N:-, marked by an appropriate bitonal combination:

/lèmlě: lémì yā:-pú/ 'They did not hear my voice'

/ókè kè ònèn wé ó:-wò:yì/ 'He has seen the person he wanted'

/lèkó yā:-yù/ 'They did not go to war'

/òbàsè ǒ:-tè:/ 'It will not rain'

/ŋ:wói bōŋ nè ŋbláu/ 'If I need something, I shall ask'

Verbal P-words may occur without a pre-radical P-morph in certain grammatical contexts, e.g. when a verb occurs in the imperative mood:

yěl ñwènê 'Read a book'

kpé:né kên 'open your eyes'

Other examples are:

Óbì yè:lí bôn? 'What is he reading?'

Ófí yè: má:, níí ñkó é kè

'If he had come, I would have seen him'.

ètó yó á:môn kà: étùn éyí:

'The house we saw was very beautiful'

2.4222 The Radical Phonological Morph of Verbal P-words:

The radical phonological morph of verbal P-words is congruent with the stem of grammatical verbs. It corresponds with what may be described as the central segment of the verb, i.e. it excludes, on the one side, the pre-radical P-morph, and, on the other, the post-radical P-morph.

Structure and Phoneme Distribution

The syllable structures and phoneme distribution occurring in verbal radical P-morphs may be symbolized as follows:

Monosyllabic Structures:

- (i) $-C_1 (C) V_1 [H]$, e.g. yátũm yà-tó lòbó 'You cry too much'
- (ii) $\left. \begin{array}{l} -C_1(C)V_1: \\ -C_1(C)V_1C_f \end{array} \right\} [H:, L:, HL \text{ or } LH]$, e.g. yá-tó: lòbó 'They cried'
yá-téi bõñ 'They danced'

Disyllabic Structures:

- (i) $-C_1(C)V_1 \cdot C_2 V_2 \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} H \\ L \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \cdot \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} H \\ L \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ e.g. yá-nò·ná ké lújí 'They have cooked'
- (ii) $-C_1(C)V_1 \cdot C_2 V_2 C_f \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} H \\ L \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \cdot \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} H \\ L \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ e.g. yá-kó·wái lówí 'They are fetching water'
- (iii) $-C_1(C)V_1 \cdot C_2 V_2 \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} H \\ L \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \cdot \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} H \\ L \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ e.g. yá-pó·ná lóblàblà 'They answered a question'
- (iv) $-C_1(C)V_1 \cdot C_2 V_2 C_f \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} H \\ L \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \cdot \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} H \\ L \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ e.g. yá-pó·nái lóblàblà 'They are answering a question'
- (v) $-C_1(C)V_1 N \cdot N V_2 \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} H \\ L \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \cdot \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} H \\ L \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ e.g. yá-wòm·mè lìkól 'They cut the bush'
- (vi) $-C_1(C)V_1 N \cdot N V_2 C_f \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} H \\ L \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \cdot \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} H \\ L \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ e.g. yá-wòm·mài 'They are shouting'

Trisyllabic Structure:

- $-C_1(C)V_1 \cdot C_1(C)V_1 \cdot C_2 V_2 C_f \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} [H \cdot H] \\ [L \cdot L] \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \cdot \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} H \\ L \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ e.g. yá-kókówói bẽn-bẽn
'They are washing the children'

These structures and their phoneme distribution are, on the whole, similar to those described in nominal P-words. But the following differences exist between them:

- (a) The velar nasal never occurs in the C_1 radical initial consonant position in verbal P-words.
- (b) Tonal glides occur only in monosyllabic structures here.
- (c) The C_f position in disyllabic and trisyllabic structures may only be realized by the alveo-palatal semivowel /y/, transcribed as i .
- (d) The C_2 position in disyllabic structures consists, not only

of the six sonorants occurring in nominal radical P-morphs, but also of the phonemes /b/, /d/ and /k/, e.g.

yá-dé**ḡ**é bé 'They went out'; yá-té**ḡ**é bé òkpátàlá
'They used a ladder'; yá-dù**ḡ**kè bè 'They turned back'.

Note that trisyllabic structures are always (partially) re-duplicated, e.g. yá-tàtəlèi 'They are wandering about'.

2.5 THE PHONOLOGICAL PHRASE.

The phonological words described above function in the phonological phrase, which may be taken to correspond, grammatically, with structures such as the nominal or verbal phrase and the clause. Its length varies considerably, being determined by factors such as the style of speech and the emotional state of the speaker.

Phonetically, a phonological phrase may be defined as a stretch of speech characterized by the occurrence of a single intonation contour, and whose boundaries are marked by a slight pause.

The commonest intonation pattern in Lòkée is downdrift, which characterizes declarative statements. (Other intonation patterns, which also occur in Lòkée, e.g. question, emphasis, exclamation and vocative, will not be described here). It is a phonetic process in which each phonemic high tone occurring after a low tone is automatically realized at a lower pitch than the preceding one, while the pitch of each successive phonemic low tone is lowered in a parallel manner, with or without the intervention of a phonemic high tone,

resulting in the phonemic low tone being realized as extra low in phrase, clause or sentence final position.

The following sentence illustrates this process:

/kètí kèdɔ́-kèdɔ́ yò:wói/ → [- - - -]

'We don't want another seat'

In pronouncing the sentence, one cannot but notice

- (i) that each phonemic high tone is lower than the preceding one after a low tone;
- (ii) that both high tones and low tones at the beginning of the sentence are higher than they are at the end.¹

The phonological phrase is bounded on either side by a slight pause, which is more or less marked depending on the individual.

It is also characterized by internal juncture patterns across phonological word boundaries. These are manifested through the processes of vowel elision, consonant insertion and consonant assimilation.

2.51 Vowel Elision

When the juncture of any two P-words occurring within a phonological phrase is such that, in the isolate form, the first P-word ends, and the second begins, with a vowel, then the first vowel is

1. For further reference, cf. Elaine Berry (1974) p.80; Hyman (1975) p.226; Ladefoged (1975) p.229.

dropped and the second retained, lengthened and made to carry either its own tone as well as that of the elided vowel, if neither of them is a glide, or the occurring glide alone, thus

- | | | | |
|--------|--------|---|----|
| (i) | H + H | → | H: |
| (ii) | L + L | → | L: |
| (iii) | H + L | → | HL |
| (iv) | L + H | → | LH |
| (v) | HL + H | → | HL |
| (vi) | LH + H | → | LH |
| (vii) | HL + L | → | HL |
| (viii) | LH + L | → | LH |
| (ix) | H + HL | → | HL |
| (x) | L + HL | → | HL |
| (xi) | L + LH | → | LH |
| (xii) | L + LM | → | LM |

In other words, combinations of like tones remain at the same phonemic pitch (H: or L:). Combinations of different tonemes are realized as glides. And the sequence of a high or low toneme followed by a glide or vice versa is realized as the occurring glide.

Examples.

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------------------|---|----------------|----------------------------|
| (i) | /ódé ékò épé-épé/ | → | [ódé:kè:pé:pé] | 'it is a new lqin-cloth' |
| (ii) | /ètò ù:kwà-á/ | → | [ètù:kwá:] | 'Ukwa association's house' |
| (iii) | /òtâ: ùkpò/ | → | [òtù:kpò] | 'he used a towel' |
| (iv) | /tě: éšă:mâ ímâ/ | → | [tě:să:mĩ:mâ] | 'leave that corn alone' |
| (v) | /òtâ: ètí/ | → | [òtâ:tí] | 'he used a stick' |

- (vi) /tě: â:tè/ → [tǎ:tè] 'sing songs'
 (vii) /ètí ê:yè: dâ:/ → [ètê:yè:dâ] 'if the stick reaches there'
 (viii) /ékò ê:yě:/ → [ékê:yě:] 'if the cloth runs'
 (ix) /ékò ímâ:ě:yè:/ → [ékĩ:mě:yè:] 'the cloth has not run'
 (x) /ékò ímâ:ě:yè:/ → [ékĩ:mě:yè:] 'the cloth will not run'

There are two other regular word-juncture tone combinations which do not follow the general rules given above in specific grammatical contexts which it would seem convenient to describe here.

(a) The first regards the sequence of a low toneme followed by a high one, i.e. L + H. Following the general rule (iv) enunciated above, L + H → LH. But at the word juncture between the future clitic *nè* and the singular positive Neutral Type I verb-forms of inherent high-tone verbs, the L + H sequence becomes L:, e.g.

- /nè ótó lòbè/ → [nò:tó lòbè] 'he will cry'
 /nè ósè: kètí/ → [nò:sè: kètí] 'he will fell the tree'
 /éwí nó émá/ → [èwí nê:má] 'the sun will shine'

(b) The second combination regards the sequence of a high toneme followed by either a low toneme or a rising glide.

According to the general principles given in (iii) and (ix) above, both H + L and H + HL → HL. However, when the phrase in which the word juncture occurs is genitival and features a relator, both combinations become H:, e.g.

- /wén wé Òtínà/ → [wén wó:tínà] 'the son of Otínà'

/lɛblâ jɛ ɔ̃bâm/ → [lɛblâ jɔ̃:bâm] 'centre for ɔ̃bam society'

/ádù ké ǎ:dù/ → [ádù ká:dù] 'thousands upon thousands'

And when the word-final high toneme marking an elided vowel is followed by the low-mid glide [LM] realizing the pre-radical P-morph of a negative Non-Actual verb-form (singular) or by the low-high glide [LH] realizing the pre-radical P-morph of a negative Aorist verb-form (singular), the resulting tone combinations are, respectively, [HL] and [H:], i.e. $H + LM \rightarrow HM$ instead of LM and $H + LH \rightarrow H$: instead of LH in these two grammatical contexts.

Examples of $H + LM \rightarrow HM$:

/kɛ ɔ̃:kɛbɪ/ → [kɔ̃:kɛbɪ] 'he will not spoil(it)'

/ɛpɛ ɔ̃:kɛ / → [ɛpɔ̃:kɛ] 'he will not see the moon'

Examples of $H + LH \rightarrow H$:

/kɛ ɔ̃:kɛbɪ/ → [kɔ̃:kɛbɪ] 'he did not spoil(it)'

/kɛ ɔ̃:pàkɪ/ → [kɔ̃:pàkɪ] 'he did not break(it)'

2.52 Epenthetic Consonant Rule

The rule states that when a verb-form ending in a vowel is followed by the second or third person object pronoun singular referring to a human or spiritual being or to a personalized animal in folk tales or religious stories, a consonant is optionally inserted between the verb-form and the immediately following singular pronoun, so that the /V/ pronoun form becomes /CV/. The /C/ position

of the new /CV/ syllable is realized by /y/ when the final vowel of the verb-form is a front vowel, and by /w/ when the verb-form ends in a central or back vowel.

Examples. ¹

/sɛ:ŋí ɔ̃ mā: dɛŋ-dɛŋ/ → [sɛ:ŋí yɔ̃ mā: dɛŋ-dɛŋ]
(or [sɛ:ŋɔ̃: mā: dɛŋ-dɛŋ]) 'don't hurry'

/yɔ̃: ɔ̃ lɛkál/ → [yɔ̃:wɔ̃ lɛkál] 'make yourself a pad'

/bɛ: ɛ mā:/ → [bɛ:yɛ mā:] 'stand him there'

/kɔ̃ ɛ yàmlɛ/ → [kɔ̃ wɛ yàmlɛ] (or [kɛ: yàmlɛ])
'give him something to eat with oil'

There are certain contexts in which the application of this rule is obligatory, and there are others in which the rule is not applied at all. For instance, we may say [kpɛ:yɛ lújí] 'sell food to him' for /kpɛ: ɛ lújí/ but not [kpɛ: lújí] which might have been expected as an alternative version and which here has no meaning. We may also say [kpɛ: bɔ̃ŋ] 'teach him (something)' for /kpɛ ɛ bɔ̃ŋ/, and if we said the alternative version [kpɛ yɛ bɔ̃ŋ], it would no longer mean 'teach him something' but 'teach it something', the yɛ now having a non-human referent. There seems to be no general rule systematizing the application of the epenthetic consonant rule, and the contexts in which it applies have to be learnt. This area deserves more study.

Note that the third person pronoun singular having a non-human

1. Cf. other examples under section 2.11142 (a) (ii).

referent is always realized by the structure /CV/, and therefore it is not relevant to discuss it under this section.

2.53 Consonant Assimilation

Consonant assimilation occurs at a word juncture in which the first word ending in a consonant is followed by another beginning with a consonant. The segmental and suprasegmental phoneme changes which take place at the juncture have already been adequately described and illustrated in sections 2.11131, 2.11132, 2.11141, 2.11142, 2.42122(a).

2.6 THE PHONOLOGICAL SENTENCE

Phonological phrases function in the phonological sentence, which is characterized by the occurrence of a complete intonation contour over the constituent phrase or phrases. In other words, when the intonation contour of a phrase or phrases neither continues from an immediately preceding phrase nor runs into an immediately following phrase, then that phrase or group of phrases constitutes a sentence. The beginning of a new sentence is generally signalled by a considerable rise in the pitch level to contrast with the end-of-sentence low pitch level. Phonological sentences correspond with grammatical sentences, and the phonological factors described here may be used as decisive criteria where a phonological sentence boundary is ambiguous.

Examples (the phrase is marked off by a comma, and the sentence by a fullstop):

òbàsè ô:tái á:jínà, kèblê ñ:kòu.

'If it continues to rain like this, I shall not go to farm'.

kébê: lè:bàkú-á mã:, lújí lónítùm lósòì.

'During the festival, there is always too much food to eat'.

2.7 THE UTTERANCE AND THE DISCOURSE.

Phonological sentences function in an utterance, and utterances function in a discourse.

The utterance comprises the speech action of one individual bounded by the speech action of another individual.

The discourse comprises the total speech interaction of two or more individuals on a given occasion.

The utterance and the discourse function in an extra-linguistic context, and their phonological significance is rather restricted. They are therefore outside the scope of this description. However, it should be noted that the context of an utterance or a discourse has a decisive influence on the structure of sentences that may function in them. For instance, a 'conversation' discourse often begins and ends with a greeting sentence, whereas a 'narration' discourse begins and ends with the formal sentences kpàkpă: sèníníní: and ètúkpă kǒi, respectively.

CHAPTER THREE

THE MORPHEME AND WORD UNITS (PART I)

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The term 'word' ¹ is used here to refer to those classes of items functioning directly as forms which are comparatively stable internally, but comparatively freely combinable within the structure of the phrase, clause, sentence or utterance. Graphologically, words are marked by a space on either side.

Examples

lètú	'head'	yèjǒ	'jams'	èkón	'fire'
yě̀l	'read!'	nòmá	'sit!'	kpé	'learn!'
kègà̀nè jàn kě̀ lò:wí kè:bé:yí					
'An ant-hill never stands in water'					

The term 'morpheme' is used here to refer to the minimal grammatical unit that may function either as a single-morpheme word or within the structure of a word. Examples of single-morpheme words:

wé, bé, yé, sé, fé, ké	'relators'
nè	'future particle'
kě	'perfective particle'

Examples of multi-morpheme words (morphemes separated by a hyphen):

-
1. R. H. Robins (1978 3rd impression): General Linguistics. An introductory survey, London, Longman, pp.184-204, examines past 'word' and 'morpheme' definitions, including Bloomfield's, and makes useful suggestions of his own.

è-jəu 'rope'
yá-tò: 'they fell'
ò-dám-á 'her husband'
é-kò-blāmī: 'shirt'
kò-nì-kpá-fè 'shoe'

3.1 THE MORPHEME UNIT

There are three classes of morphemes: prefix, stem (or base) and suffix.

The prefix is congruent with the phonological pre-radical morph. It occurs as the initial element in the structure of a word that contains it. Examples (prefix underlined) are:

ò-nèn 'person'	yà-nèn 'people'
è-pù 'monkey'	n-pù 'monkeys'
kà-kò: 'pig'	lì-kò: 'pigs'

The stem is congruent with the phonological radical morph. It occurs as the obligatory and comparatively stable part of a word. While some words occur congruent with their stem morpheme, others occur comprising a stem morpheme and an initial prefix morpheme. Examples of words consisting of stem morphemes alone:

kpákpà 'peanuts'	bǒŋ 'thing'
téu 'dance'	yó:mé 'measure'
jàŋ 'never'	mîn 'here'

Examples of words consisting of a stem morpheme preceded by a prefix morpheme (stem morpheme underlined):

ò- <u>bàkpà</u>	'Hausa'	yà- <u>bàkpà</u>	'Hausas'
è- <u>těn</u>	'animal'	ñ- <u>těn</u>	'animals'
yá- <u>dó:wáí</u>	'they are sleeping'	yà- <u>dó:wáí</u>	'they are not sleeping'

The suffix is congruent with the phonological post-radical morph. It occurs as the final element in the structure of nouns that contain it. Examples (suffix underlined) are:

ò-mìní- <u>ò</u>	'Qmini' (in the vocative)
è:-pál- <u>á</u>	'for running' 'capable of running fast'

By definition, words do not occur in their basic and isolate form with a suffix.

3.2 THE WORD UNIT

All words in Lòkěe may be divided into two major classes: verbals and non-verbals.

Verbals will be described in chapter 4, while non-verbals will be described in the remainder of this chapter.

3.3 NON-VERBALS

Non-verbals may be divided into open-class and closed-class words. Nouns belong to the open class of words, while closed-class

words consist of numerals, adjectives, possessives, pronouns, demonstratives, adverbs, relators and grammatical particles. Both classes of words will now be described in detail.

3.31 NOUNS

All nouns in Lõkée may be divided into two major classes: 'proper' nouns and 'common' nouns.

'Proper' nouns consist of personal names, e.g. Òmìnì, 'Omini', Òkôì 'Okoi'; titles, e.g. Òból¹ 'Chief', ùwóu 'my father', àwóu 'your father', yàkà 'his mother'; and names of personalized animals in folk-tales, e.g. Kèkpí 'Tortoise', Èpù 'Monkey', Èfèl 'Rabbit'.

'Common' nouns consist of such nouns as òdám 'man', yàně 'woman', ètì 'road', ètò 'house', kòbó: 'arm', yèn 'eyes', jǔmà 'nose'.

3.311 PROPER NOUNS

3.3111 Structure

All proper nouns have:

either (a) the structure + Prefix + Stem + Suffix, e.g.

Ú-bì	'Ubi'	À-yèi	'Ayei'
Ò-kámá-ò	'Okama'	É-yón-ò	'Eyong'

-
1. Òból, spelt with a capital letter, is a proper noun; òból, with a small letter, is a common noun meaning 'a chief'.

or (b) the structure + Stem ± Suffix, e.g.

Kápò:nà	'Kapoona'	Kébê:	'Keebe'
Jè:sám-á	'Jeesam'	Wô:fái	'Woofai'

In other words, some proper nouns have prefixes of their own, while others do not.

3.3112 Contextual Features

When a proper noun occurs as a nominal phrase subject (S_{NP}) in the structure of a clause, its prefix, if there is one, lengthens: short low prefix tones are converted into long low tones, and short high prefix tones into low-high glides, e.g.

\hat{O} -mìnì → \hat{O} :-mìnì óyè: ké mã:
 isolate form 'Omini has come'.
 \acute{U} -bì → \acute{U} :-bì ófúní kên
 isolate form 'Ubi is coming'
 \grave{u} -wóu → \grave{u} :-wóu ódèi yò
 'my father' 'My father is calling you'
 $\text{Kè-kpí} \rightarrow \text{Kè:-kpí}$ ótũm òyénì kèkpà:ní
 'Tortoise' 'Tortoise is very cunning'

Proper nouns that do not have prefixes of their own acquire, in this grammatical context, the prefix à-, which is then lengthened, e.g.

$\text{Kápò:nà} \rightarrow \text{à:-Kápò:nà}$ ówái lòwí
 isolate form 'Kapoona is drinking water'
 $\text{Jíjò:sì} \rightarrow \text{à:-Jíjò:sì}$ ódó wèn wó Ò:bàsè
 'Jesus' 'Jesus is the son of God'

3.3113 Singular and Plural Forms of Proper Nouns

Plural forms of proper nouns differ structurally from their singular forms in that plural proper nouns are preceded by the relator *bé*. Thus *Òmìnì* becomes *bé Òmìnì* 'those called Omini', 'Omini and his friends'; *ùwóu* becomes *bé ù:wóu* 'my fathers', 'my elders', 'those worthy to be my father'. Note that the following proper name has a lengthened prefix.

As we shall see, ¹ singular proper names govern the 'set of concord elements' ² controlled by nominal class ³ 1 common nouns, and plural proper names govern the set of concord elements controlled by nominal class 2 common nouns.

Examples

Ù:bàṇà ò-dó-ò-dó wé ò-wú:yí mìn...

Ubaṇa another who he-lives here

'Another Ubaṇa who lives here...'

bé Ù:bàṇa yà-dó-yà-dó bé yà-wú:yí mìn...

'Other Ubaṇas who live here!...'

m̀: mùkà ídà: ó-téi ké m̀: kpõ: ídè: sì

my-mother other she-farms on yam-barn this-year

'My other mother has her farm near the yam-barn this year'

bé m̀: mùkà bídà: yá-téi ké m̀: kpõ: ídè: sì

'My other mothers have their farms near the yam-barn this year'

1. Cf. section 3.314.

2. For a definition of 'concord', cf. under section 3.313.

3. For a definition of the term 'nominal class', cf. also section 3.313.

Following this distinction of singular and plural forms of proper nouns, it should be noted that only singular proper nouns may acquire the suffix -á when they occur as nominal phrase complement in the structure of verbal phrases. Plural nouns never take the suffix -á.

Examples

yókè kè ùwóu-á

'We have seen our father'

yókè kè b́é ù:wóu

'We have seen our fathers'

yáwó:yí Òmìnì-á

'They are looking for Omini'

yáwó:yí b́é Ò:mìnì

'They are looking for Omini and his friends'

Singular proper nouns which have no prefix of their own acquire the à- prefix when they become plural e.g.

Kápò:nà → b́é à:-Kápò:nà 'Kapoona and her friends'.

3.312 COMMON NOUNS

Common nouns may be divided into simple and compound nouns.

A simple noun has a stem consisting of a single morpheme, e.g. è-b́én 'mortar', kè-t́í 'tree'; and a compound noun has a stem composed

of two or more morphemes, e.g. kó-dém-bó: 'right hand', lé-nón-kpálà 'nest', lé-pám-bé 'milk', lé-kò-blámí:-kpà 'shirt pocket'.

3.3121 Simple Nouns

(a) Structure

Simple nouns have either the structure + Stem, e.g. wě 'child', blǒ 'things', yǒl 'snake'; or the structure +Prefix + Stem + Suffix, e.g. è-bàlà 'ravine', ò-bàsè 'rain', kú-bàn 'bamboo-door', è:-tǒ-á 'for the house', à:-mótò-á 'for a car', 'for a lorry', à:-wò:l-á 'for the body'.

It should be noted that all simple nouns occurring with a suffix must have a prefix, whether or not they possess one in their basic and isolate form. For instance, wǒl 'body' has no prefix of its own, but when it occurs with a suffix, it acquires the prefix à-. Thus, we have

yàmlè à:-wò:l-á 'oil suitable for the body'

ètěn lî:-kó:l-á 'wild animal' (lit. 'forest animal')

The morphophonemic changes that take place in the shape of the noun to which a suffix is attached have already been described under section 2.42123.

(b) Simple Noun Stems

The stem of a simple noun may be either a noun-stem or a verb-stem.

(i) Noun-Stem Simple Nouns

Noun-stem simple nouns are nouns with a single non-verbal stem which may or may not be preceded by a prefix, e.g. è-ɖam 'cow', yì-nòn 'bird', lè-kó 'war', jě́n 'name', já:ŋɛ́ 'ant', dèl 'night'.

(ii) Verb-Stem Simple Nouns

Verb-stem simple nouns are nominalized single verb-stems realized in two ways:

By the selection of the verb-nominalization prefix yò-, followed by a reduplicated monosyllabic verb-stem. The table below provides examples: the imperative form of the verb shows the non-reduplicated monosyllabic verb-stem.

Imperative/Meaning		Nominalized verb-stem/ Meaning	
kpé	'learn'	yò-kpékpé	'learning', 'teaching'
dě:	'buy'	yò-dědě:	'buying', 'the things bought'
kói	'wash'	yò-kókói	'washing', 'things washed'
téu	'dance'	yò-tétéu	'dancing', 'a dance'
néŋ	'do'	yò-nénén	'work'
tě:	'sing'	yò-tétè:	'singing', 'a song'
kpě:	'sell'	yò-kpékpè:	'selling', 'things sold'
yǒ:	'weave'	yò-yóyò:	'weaving', 'woven things'
dǒ:	'mix'	yò-dódǒ:	'mixing', 'blending'

běm	'beg'	yò-bébèm	'begging', 'borrowing'
fĩ:	'kill'	yò-fífì:	'killing'

Note that the tone sequence of the reduplicated verb-stem is either H•H (:) or H•L: depending on whether the verb-stem is inherently high tone or low tone respectively (cf. chapter 4, section 4.1121).

By the selection of the verb-stem nominalizing prefix kO- or kE-, followed by a verb-stem nominalizing H-L tone sequence for high-tone verbs and a low and high tone sequence for low-tone verbs. The following table provides examples, with the imperative being given as the base of the verbal noun:

Imperative	Meaning	kò- Prefix	kè- Prefix	Meaning
kpé (bǒŋ)	learn	kò-kpé:	kè:kpé:	learning
dé: (bǒŋ)	buy	kò-děi	kè-děi	buying
bé: (11bɔ)	stand	kò-bé:yì	kè-bé:yì	standing
kóì (bǒŋ)	wash	kò-kóì	kè-kóì	washing
təu (bǒŋ)	dance	kò-təi	kè-təi	dancing
yín (bǒŋ)	tell	kò-yínì	kè-yínì	telling
támé (ɔ̀nɛ̀n)	push	kò-támè	kè-támè	pushing
yó:mé (bǒŋ)	measure	kò-yó:mè	kè-yó:mè	measuring
tú_túmáì	shiver	kò-tútùmáì	kè-tútùmáì	shivering
kpé: (bǒŋ)	sell	kò-kpé:yí	kè-kpé:yí	selling
dé: (ɔ̀nɛ̀n)	call	kò-dé:	kè-dé:	calling
dǎi (ɔ̀nɛ̀n)	entice	kò-dǎi	kè-dǎi	enticing
təu (ɔ̀nɛ̀n)	describe	kò-təi	kè-təi	describing
pǎi (11wǎ:)	chop	kò-pèlɪ	kè-pèlɪ	chopping
dǒn (ɔ̀nɛ̀n)	scare	kò-dǒnɪ	kè-dǒnɪ	scaring
yòné	lie down	kò-yòm	kè-yòm	lying down
fùmá (ɔ̀nɛ̀n)	surprise	kò-fùmá	kè-fùmá	surprising
yí:mé (ɔ̀nɛ̀n)	remind	kò-yí:mé	kè-yí:mé	reminding
tètəìlái	wander about	kò-tètəìlái	kè-tètəìlái	wandering about

These verbal nouns usually have the semantic connotation 'the act of...' or 'the process of...'. If the meaning is generally somewhat abstract, the kò- prefix usually suggests a habitual or repeated action or an on-going activity, while the kè- prefix denotes generally a completed action or a process that had been carried out only once.

This semantic distinction is however blurred when the prefixes are affixed to continuative imperative verb-stems, e.g.

kò-bébènèi	and kè-bébènèi	'standing for a long time'
kò-nò:ní	and kè-nò:ní	'repeated cooking'
kò-nòmí	and kè-nòmí	'prolonged or repeated sitting'
kò-yòmí	and kè-yòmí	'prolonged or repeated lying down'

3.3122 Compound Nouns

Compound nouns occur very frequently in Lòkèe.

(a) Structure

Compound nouns, like simple nouns, have the structure + stem or + Prefix + Stem + Suffix, but the stem is characterized by the presence of two or more smaller stems derived from nouns constituting it. Examples of + Stem - structured compound nouns:

/yòl-wǒl/	[yò:wǒl]	'snake's body'
/tàm-wǒl/	[tàn:wǒl]	'physique like an old person's'
/jèn-mùná/	[jèmmùná]	'eye-ball'
/jèn-kpán/	[jèŋkpán]	'eye-lid'

Examples of + Prefix + Stem + Suffix - structured compound nouns:

/lɔ̃-bé-wí/ [lɔ̃béwí] 'breast milk'
 /lɛ̃-bó:-kòl/ [lɛ̃bó:kòl] 'wrist'
 /ɛ̃-ból-jéu/ [ɛ̃-bó:jéu] 'royal necklace'
 /lɛ̃:-bó:-kò:l-á/ [lɛ̃:bó:kò:lá] 'of a wrist'
 /ɛ̃:-ból-jéu-á/ [ɛ̃:bó:jéuá] 'of a royal necklace'

(b) The Occurrence of a Compound Noun Prefix

The occurrence of a compound noun prefix is determined by a number of factors.

A compound noun occurs without a prefix,

- (i) when the constituent nouns have no prefix in their simple form, e.g.

yòl + wǒl → /yòl-wǒl/ [yò:wǒl]
 'snake' 'body' 'snake's body'
 bú:sì + yèn → /bú:sì-yèn/ [bú:sìyèn]
 'cat' 'eyes' 'eyes like a cat's'

Complex nouns of this structure are rather uncommon, and Lòkée native speakers would rather say wǒl jó á:-yòl than yòl-wǒl. ¹

- (ii) when the first constituent noun occurs with zero-prefix in its simple form, e.g.

yìl + è-tí → /yìl-tí/ [yì:tí]
 'hair' 'stick' 'a single hair'
 jèn + kè-kpán → /jèn-kpán/ [jèŋkpán]
 'eye' 'cover' 'eye-lid'

1. This is confirmed by my wife, as well as by Messrs Michael Oden and Arikpo Iyam, who are all native speakers of Lòkée.

wǒl + kè-dúi → /wòl-dúi/ [wò:dúi]
'body' 'beating' 'wasted effort'

But a compound noun occurs with a prefix,

(i) when the constituent nouns all have a prefix in their isolate form, e.g.

ò-bàsè + kè-kpán → /kè-bàsè-kpán/ [kèbàsèkpán]
'rain' 'cover' 'sky'
è-tì + lè-mà → /lè-tì-mà/ [lètìmà]
'road' 'hole' 'door', 'door-way'
è-ká:lán + è-tó → /è-ká:lán-tó/ [èká:lántó]
'white man' 'house' 'house like a white man's'

(ii) when the first constituent noun occurs with a prefix in its isolate form, e.g.

è-wì + jèn → /lè-wì-jèn/ [lèwìjèn]
'sunshine' 'eye' 'sun'
lò-wí + yòl → /ó-wí-yòl/ [ówíyòl]
'water' 'snake' 'river-snake'
ò-dém + wǒl → /lì-dém-wòl/ [lìdérwòl]
'man' 'body' 'physique like a man's'

(c) The Tone of a Compound Noun Prefix

The tone of a compound noun prefix is low, when all the component nouns have prefixes marked by low tone, e.g.

è-fèl + lè-mà → /lè-fèl-mà/ [lèfè:mà]
 'rabbit' 'hole' 'rabbit's hole'
è-ká:lán + è-jéu → /è-ká:lán-jéu/ [èká:lánjéu]
 'white man' 'rope' 'string', 'twine'

But the tone of a compound noun prefix is high, when at least one of the component nouns has a prefix marked by high tone, e.g.

é-fém + lè-gà → /lé-fém-gà/ [lé-féngà]
 'crocodile' 'tooth' 'crocodile's tooth'
í-kwá + m-bém → /í-kwá-bém/ [íkwábém]
 'canoe' 'sides' 'sides of a canoe'
è-nò:-tám + é-kò → /é-nò:tám-kò/ [énò:tánkò]
 'old person' 'cloth' 'old cloth'

(d) The Shape of a Compound Noun Prefix

The shape of a compound noun prefix is determined by the shape of the prefix of the final constituent noun of the compound, i.e. if a compound noun occurs with a prefix, the prefix will have a CV-, V- or N- structure depending on whether the final component noun of the compound has a CV-, V- or N- structure respectively, the tongue-height for articulating the O- and E- vowels being determined by vowel harmony, and the articulation of the syllabic nasal being conditioned by the following consonant, e.g.

é-fém + kò-kpán → /kó-fém-kpán/ [kófénkpán]
 'crocodile' 'skin' 'crocodile's hide'
 yà-tù + lè-kòlé → /lè-tù-kòlé/ [lètùkòlé]
 'wine' 'calabash' 'calabash of wine'

yò-jí	+	é-mlà	→	/é-jí-mlà/	[éjímlà]
'palm-tree'		'shoot'			'shoot of a palm-tree'
lí-tò:	+	é-tí	→	/é-tò:-tí/	[étò:tí]
'yam-harvesting'		'stick'			'yam-harvesting stick'
lò-wí	+	ò-bèlè	→	/ò-wí-bèlè/	[òwíbèlè]
'water'		'pot'			'water-storage pot'
è-tó	+	ñ-gàm	→	/ñ-tó-gàm/	[ñtógàm]
'house'		'back'			'back of the house'
è-kùl	+	ñ-fě:lè	→	/ñ-kùl-fě:lè/	[ñkù:fě:lè]
'hedge-hog'		'spines'			'spines of a hedge-hog'

This analysis would appear to have very significant implications for nouns currently described as without prefixes. For it seems to suggest, for instance, that the existing zero-prefix nouns, such as wǒl 'body', once had prefixes which now resurface whenever these nouns realize the final constituent position in a compound noun occurring with a prefix. This appears to be at least a logical conclusion to come to when it is observed that the same prefix reappears whenever the corresponding 'prefix-less' noun occurs as the final constituent of a compound noun. The following examples illustrate the point:

For wǒl, lí- always reappears as prefix of the compound noun, e.g.

é-kpómé	+	wǒl	→	/lí-kpómé-wǒl/	[líkpóméwǒl]
'bottle'		'body'			'body of a bottle'
kè-bé:	+	wǒl	→	/lí-bé:-wǒl/	[líbé:wǒl]
'corpse'		'body'			'corpse-like body'

yò-nénén + wǒl → /lì-nénén-wòl/ [lìnénénwòl]
 'work' 'body' 'body marked by labour'

For wěn, O- always reappears as prefix of the compound noun,

e.g.

è-tě̃n + wěn → /ò-tě̃n-wèn/ [òtět̃wèn]
 'animal' 'child' 'small animal'
 kè-tí + wěn → /ò-tí-wèn/ [òtíwèn]
 'tree' 'child' 'small tree'
 ú-kwá + wěn → /ó-kwá-wèn/ [ókwãwèn]
 'canoe' 'child' 'small canoe'

Note that the noun wèn is frequently used as a diminutizing affix.

For dě̃l, lO- always reappears as prefix of the compound noun, e.g.

ò-bàsè + dě̃l → /lò-bàsè-dě̃l/ [lòbàsèdět̃]
 'rain' 'year' 'rainy year'
 yò-gé:gé: + dě̃l → /lò-gé:gé:-dět̃/ [lògé:gé:dět̃]
 'trouble' 'year' 'bad year', 'year of troubles'
 é-sǎ:mà + dě̃l → /lò-sǎ:mà-dět̃/ [lòsǎ:màdět̃]
 'corn' 'year' 'corn-year'

For jèn, lE- always reappears as prefix of the compound noun,

e.g.

è-bú + jèn → /lè-bú-jèn/ [lèbújèn]
 'goat' 'eye' 'goat's eye', 'eye like a goat's'
 yò-kéké + jèn → /lè-kéké-jèn/ [lèkékéjèn]
 'watching' 'eye' 'envy'

yí-tənə + jèn → /lé-tənə-jèn/ [létənəjèn]
 'antelope' 'eye' 'antelope's eye'

For yòl, O- always reappears as prefix of the compound noun,
 e.g.

yò-jí + yòl → /ó-jí-yòl/ [ójíyòl]
 'palm-tree' 'snake' 'palm-tree snake'
 lò-wí + yòl → /ó-wí-yòl/ [ówíyòl]
 'water' 'snake' 'river-snake'

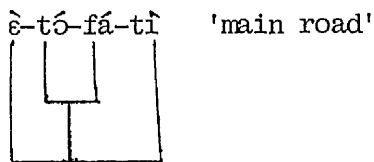
We may take the theory one step further and assign tones to these derived prefixes: low tone for the prefixes of wǒl, wèn, dǎl and jèn, and high tone for the prefix of yòl, since the tone of a compound noun prefix is high only when at least one of the constituent words has a high-tone prefix (cf. section 3.3122(c)) .

But an interesting and crucial question is whether the derived prefixes belong to the same nominal classes as the zero-prefix nouns themselves, for, if they did, it would be incontrovertible evidence that the prefix-less nouns did not only once have prefixes, but that their missing prefixes were those that have been derived. Our examples show that li-, O-, lO- and lE- are the appropriate prefixes for the nominal classes to which wǒl, wèn, dǎl and jèn belong, namely 11, 1, 10 and 3 respectively (cf. section 3.314). But there is a divergence between the nominal class of yòl, which is 7, and the class 1 suggested by the derived O- prefix. A possible explanation for this divergence is that yòl may have ceased to belong to nominal class 1 once it had lost its O- prefix, and that it subsequently attached itself to nominal class 7 rather

than any other class because many nouns denoting animals belong to that class (cf. section 3.3162.)

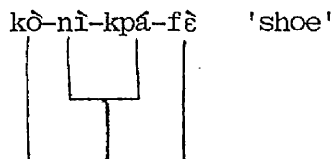
3.31221 Layered Compound Nouns

Compound nouns consisting of three noun-stems usually have a layered structure, i.e. they include a noun-stem component which is itself a compound stem, e.g.



comes from kè-tó-fál 'belly of house'

and è-tì 'road'



comes from è-nì-kpá 'elephant's hide'

and kò-fè 'foot'

As the diagrams show, it is the prefix of the final constituent noun-stem that determines the prefix of the layered compound noun.

3.31222 Compound Nouns with a Nominalized Verb-Stem

The examples of compound nouns so far given are those of noun-stems.

The following examples are compound nouns consisting of a noun-stem followed by a verb-stem:

ê-jâm	+	kô-nǎm	→	/kô-jâm-nǎm/	[kôjânnǎm]
'examination'		'sitting'			'taking examinations'
yê-jó	+	kô-bôî	→	/kô-jô-bôî/	[kôjôbôî]
'yam'		'tying'			'yam-tying'
ê-kón	+	kê-tâ:	→	/kê-kón-tâ:/	[kêkóntâ:]
'gun'		'shooting'			'gun-shooting'

When examples of compound nouns consisting of two noun-stems are compared with compound nouns consisting of a noun-stem and a verb-stem, it is observed that both types of compound nouns are formed in the same way.

But it is also noted that the grammatical relationship characterizing the constituent stems of compound nouns without a verb-stem is different from that featuring in compound nouns with a verb-stem.

In compound nouns without a verb-stem, the non-final noun-stem functions in qualifying relation to the final noun-stem. For instance, in lè-wí-tú 'spring source' (literally 'water head') derived from lô-wí 'water' and lè-tú 'head', the meaning of the non-final noun-stem, semantically, qualifies the meaning of the final noun-stem.

But, in compound nouns containing a verb-stem, the non-final noun-stem functions as complement of the final verb-stem, with the implication that only transitive verbs may occur as verb-stem constituents in compound nouns. Thus, in the compound noun, kê-bé-tô: 'weeping', 'crying', derived from lô-bé 'death' and kê-tô: 'crying',

the noun lǒbǎ is functioning as complement of the verbal noun kǎtǎ:.

3.313 Nouns and the Operation of the Concord System

Common nouns have a large variety of prefixes, which may be described as 'concord' prefixes.

By 'concord' is meant that any noun is capable of 'controlling' other words, such as adjectives, demonstratives, relators and verbs, within an appropriate grammatical structure, by selecting for each controlled word a particular one out of a number of 'concord elements'.

The total concord elements that any particular noun may select are called a concord set. For instance, the set of concord elements controlled by the noun kǎ-tǐ 'tree' consists of kǎ- for adjectives, possessives and verbs, sǐmǎ: for the demonstrative class of words, and sǎ for the relator class of words, e.g.

kǎ-tǐ	<u>sǐmǎ:</u>	kǎ-dǎ-kǎ-dǎ	<u>sǎ</u>	ǎ:wǎ:yǐ	kǎ-tǎ	kǎ
tree	that	another	which	you-want	it-fell	has
	(dem)	(adjective)	(relator)		(verb)	

'The other tree which you want has fallen down'

Each distinct set of concord elements so controlled implies a distinct 'concord class.' Since there are fourteen such distinct sets, there are fourteen distinct concord classes.

There are, however, more than fourteen different noun prefixes;

in some cases, nouns having several different prefixes all control the same set of concord elements. Such nouns are regarded as belonging to subclasses under the same main class. For instance, class 1 nouns are divided into four subclasses: the first subclass consists of common nouns with the prefix O- ; the second subclass consists of common nouns with the prefix u- ; the third subclass consists of all singular proper nouns with widely varying prefixes; and the fourth subclass consists of zero-prefix nouns.

3.314 Table of Nominal Classes

The following table lists the total number of nominal classes in Lókáa. In doing this, we have followed the order in which Winston (1962, p.56) arranged these classes, although his class reference letters are abandoned in favour of numerals in order to represent our further division of nominal classes into subclasses more conveniently. The subclass with the largest membership of nouns bears the numeral denoting the class as a whole. Subclasses with smaller memberships are indicated by a letter subscript following the numeral. Subclasses displaying prefix divergences are marked by the letter subscripts a or b, and those with zero-prefix are represented by x. a subclasses have a high vowel prefix. 1b and 2b include only proper nouns in their singular and plural forms respectively.

The 'nominal classes' column on the left-hand side of the table is followed by a column designated 'nominal prefixes', i.e. prefixes which occur in nouns. The last four columns on the right-hand side of the table are typical examples of the concord elements

governed by each nominal class. The nominal prefixes are sometimes referred to as 'independent prefixes', since their occurrence is not controlled. But the prefixes of adjectives, possessives and verbs, which are controlled by nouns, are referred to as 'dependent prefixes'.

NOMINAL CLASSES	NOMINAL PREFIXES	EXAMPLES	CONCORD ELEMENTS		
			Adjectival, Verbal, Posses- sive Prefix	Demonstrative	Relator Pronoun Form Form
1 ¹	0-	ǝ-nɛn 'person', ɔ-dɛm 'man'		ɪmǝ: ² 'this', ɪdǝ:	
1a	u-	ʉ-kpò 'towel', ʉ-kwǎ 'canoe'	0-	'that', ɪkǝ: 'the other'	wé ŋwè
1b	all Proper Noun Pre- fixes	ɛ-yóŋ, ʌ-bám, ɔ-mɪnɪ			
1x	zero	yànɛn 'woman', kpǎkpǎ 'peanuts'			
2	yǎ-	yǎ-nɛn 'people', yǎ-kpò 'towels'			
2b	bé Proper Noun	bé ɛ:yóŋ, bé ʌ:bám, bé ɔ:mɪnɪ	yǎ-	bɪɲǎ: ² 'these', bɪdǝ:	bé m̀bè
2x	zero	bànɛn 'women', kpǎkpǎ 'peanuts'		'those', bɪkǝ: 'the other'	
3	lɛ-	lɛ-tú 'head', lɛ-mǎ 'hole'	lɛ-	jɪmǎ: 'this', jɪdǝ: 'that', jɪkǝ: 'the other'	jé nújè
3x	zero	jɛn 'name', jɛn 'eye', jǎ:ŋɪ 'ant'			
4	a-	ǎ-tú 'heads', ǎ-mǎ 'holes'	a-	ɪmǎ: 'these', ɪdǝ: 'those', ɪkǝ: 'the other'	yé nyè
4x	zero	yɛn 'names', yɛn 'eyes', yǎ:ŋɪ 'ants'			
5	kɛ-	kɛ-tɪ 'tree', kɛ-tɛ 'trap'			
5a	ki-	kɪ-kùl 'box', kɪ-kú:ml 'mat leaf'	kɛ-	sɪmǎ: 'this', sɪdǝ: 'that', sɪkǝ: 'the other'	sé úsè
5x	zero	dɛl 'night', sàndɛn-tó 'woman's foot'			

1. ɪ-yǎ:yǎ: 'baby also belongs to this class, maybe because its alternative form is ɔ-yǎ:yǎ:.
2. For a complete set of the demonstratives, cf. section 3.3251.

NOMINAL CLASSES	NOMINAL PREFIXES	EXAMPLES	CONCORD ELEMENTS			
			Adjectival, Verbal, Posses- sive Prefix	Demonstrative	Relator Form	Pronoun Form
6	yE-	yè-tí 'trees', yé-tè 'traps'				
6a	yí-	yí-kùl 'boxes', yí-kú:mí 'mat leaves'	yE-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} bímà, bídà; \\ bíkà; \end{array} \right.$		ábè 'these', etc. bá
6x	zero	dèl 'nights', bànn-tó 'women's feet'				
7	E-	è-tí 'stick', è-mà 'mouth'				
7a	i-	í-kpé 'lawsuit', í-tòn 'shrine'	E-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ímà: 'this', ídà: yé \\ 'that' íkà: 'the' \\ other' \end{array} \right.$		áyè
7x	zero	yól 'snake', jànn-tó 'woman's house'				
8	Ṇ	ñ-tí 'sticks', ñ-mà 'mouths'				
8x	zero	yól 'snakes', bànn-tó 'women's houses'	Ṇ-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ímà: 'these', ídà: yé \\ 'those' íkà: 'the' \\ other' \end{array} \right.$		áyè
9	kO-	kò-tòn 'gift', kò-bó: 'arm'	kO-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} kímà: 'this', kídà: ké \\ 'that', kíkà: 'the' \\ other' \end{array} \right.$		ájè
9a	ku-	kù-bém 'lie', kù-bìnnì 'mat'				
10	lO-	lò-wí 'water', lò-sè 'earth'				
10a	lu-	lú-jí 'food', lú-kpál 'public square'	lO-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} jímà: 'this', jídà: jé \\ 'that' jíkà: 'the' \\ other' \end{array} \right.$		ájè
10x	zero	dél 'year'				
11	li-	lì-tòn 'gifts', lì-wí 'basins of water'	li-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} jímà: 'these', jídà: jé \\ 'those' jíkà: 'the' \\ other' \end{array} \right.$		ájè
11x	zero	dél 'years', wól 'body', yíl 'hair'				

NOMINAL CLASSES	NOMINAL PREFIXES	EXAMPLES	CONCORD ELEMENTS			
			Adjectival, Verbal, Posse- ssive Prefix	Demonstrative	Relator Form	Pronoun Form

12	yi-	yí-nôn 'bird', yí-káu 'type of grass-hopper' yí-bàlâ 'thought'	yi-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} fîmâ: \text{'this'}, \\ fîdâ: \text{'that'}, \\ fîkâ: \text{'the other'} \end{array} \right.$	fě	mfě
13	yO-	yò-jí 'palm-tree', yò-nì 'elephant'	yO-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} bîmâ, bîdâ, bîkâ: \text{'these'} \\ \text{'this or these'} \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right.$	bé	mbé
13a	yu-	yù-gâu 'fur'				
14 ¹	ka-	kâ-kô: 'pig' kâ-wôŋ 'sky'	ka-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} kîmâ, kîdâ, \\ kîkâ: \text{'this'}, \text{etc} \end{array} \right.$	ké	ŋkě
14x	zero	kò:wé 'tomorrow'				

1. í-sén 'yesterday' and í-yâ:sí 'today' belong to this class. The absence of a central high vowel in lòkéé may be the explanation for their occurrence with a front high vowel. The two nouns also take class 1 concord elements, e.g. tsén kâ-bôlí ké or ô-bôlí ké 'yesterday has passed'.

3.315 Singular and Plural Pairings of Common Nouns

The nominal classes of common nouns may be paired, in terms of their collocation with -àná 'one' and -pǒ: 'two', into singular and plural sets, as listed in the representative table below:

CLASS	SING/PLU	EXAMPLES
PAIRINGS	NOMINAL	SINGULAR FORMS OF 'ONE' PLURAL FORMS OF 'TWO'
	PREFIXES	
1/2	O-/ya-	ò-nèn wàná 'one person' yà-nèn yà-pǒ: 'two people'
1a/2	u-/ya-	ú-kpò wàná 'one towel' yá-kpò yà-pǒ: 'two towels'
1x/6x	zero	bǒŋ wàná 'one thing' blǒŋ yè-pǒ: 'two things'
2/11	ya-/li-	yà-tù bàná 'one calabash of wine' lì-tù lì-pǒ: 'two calabashes of wine'
3/4	lE-/a-	lè-tú jàná 'one head' à-tú à-pǒ: 'two heads'
4/4	a-/a-	á-kpèn yàná 'one clump of standing raffia bamboos' á-kpèn à-pǒ: 'two clumps of standing raffia bamboos'
5/6	kE-/yE-	kè-tí sàná 'one tree' yè-tí yè-pǒ: 'two trees'
5a/6a	ki-/yi-	kì-kùl sàná 'one box' yì-kùl yè-pǒ: 'two boxes'
6/6	yE-/yE-	yè-jó bàná 'one piece of yam' yè-jó yè-pǒ: 'two pieces of yam'
7/8	E-/N̩	è-tó yàná 'one house' ñ-tó ñ-pǒ: 'two houses'
7a/8	i-/N̩	í-kpé yàná 'one law-suit' ñ-kpé ñ-pǒ: 'two lawsuits'
8/8	N̩/N̩	ñ-gàm yàná 'one back' ñ-gàm ñ-pǒ: 'two backs'
9/8	kO-/N̩	kò-bó: kàná 'one hand' ñ-bó: ñ-pǒ: 'two hands'
9a/8	ku-/N̩	kù-bém kàná 'one cheek' ñ-bém ñ-pǒ: 'two cheeks'
9/11	kO-/li-	kò-tòn kàná 'one gift' lì-tòn lì-pǒ: 'two gifts'
9a/11	ku-/li-	kù-bém kàná 'one lie' lì-bém lì-pǒ: 'two lies'
10/11	lO-/li-	lò-wí jàná 'one basin of water' lì-wí lì-pǒ: 'two basins of water'
11/4	li-/a-	lì-tè jàná 'songs of the same type' à-tè à-pǒ: 'two different songs'
		lì-tôn jàná 'the same type of ash' à-tôn à-pǒ: 'two different types of ash'
		lì-té:mì jàná 'one farm' à-té:mì à-pǒ: 'two farms'

CLASS	SING/PLU	EXAMPLES	
PAIRINGS	NOMINAL	SINGULAR FORMS OF 'ONE'	PLURAL FORMS OF 'TWO'
	PREFIXES		
12/8	yi-/N-	yì-pól fàná 'one calf of leg'	m-pól m-pǒ: 'two calves of leg'
12/13	yì-/yO-	yì-nòn fàná 'one bird'	yò-nòn yò-pǒ: 'two birds'
13/4	yO-/N-	yò-jí bàná 'one palm- tree'	m-kpíl m-pǒ: 'two palm-trees'
13/13	yO-/yO-	yò-gáu bàná 'one mush- room'	yò-gáu yò-pǒ: 'two mushrooms'
14/11	ka-/li-	kā-kō: kàná 'one pig'	lî-kō: lî-pǒ: 'two pigs'

3.3151 A number of nouns, such as yàně 'woman', bǎně 'women' wě 'child', bě 'children', jě 'name', yě 'names', jèn 'eye', jǎ:ŋǐ 'ant', yǎ:ŋǐ 'ants', bǒŋ 'thing', blǒŋ 'things', bǎ:nǐ 'urine', yǒl 'snake(s)', yǐl 'hair', jǔmmǎ 'nose', wǒl 'body', 'bodies', have been classified simply as zero-prefix. Their position is not as simple or as clear-cut as that, cf. Winston's study (1962, pp.53-60). It is an area where further research is required, to ascertain in particular, whether the prefix-like consonants occurring in the initial position of these nouns are genuine nominal prefixes, deformations of earlier CV- type prefixes, etc, in short, their grammatical status.

3.3152 The classification of nouns and their pairings exclude loan words, such as mótò 'car', lorry', bǒl 'ball', football', áfù 'half-penny', pǎnǐ 'penny', all of which belong to class 1 in the singular and to class 2 in the plural. This is because their forms do not fit properly into the phonological system and especially into the singular and plural patterning characteristic of indigenous nouns in Lòkée. To take one example, á-fù 'half-penny', appears to have

a Class 4 noun prefix, and since the noun governs Class 1 concord elements, it presents an anomalous situation in which we have a noun with a Class 4 prefix controlling Class 1 concord elements. Furthermore, if áfù was included in the table, we would now have had a secondary subclass with a prefix which, exceptionally, is not marked by a high vowel. A better analysis seems to be that the initial vowel of áfù is not a prefix at all. It may be noted that its form does not change when it collocates with a class 2 plural numeral: i.e. áfù wàná 'one half-penny' and áfù yâ-pǒ: 'two half-pennies'. The position of nouns such as this is too uncertain for them to form the basis of any systematic analysis.

3.316 Nominal Classes and their Semantic Correspondences

Only tentative generalizations can, at this stage of the research, be made about the membership of each nominal class.

3.3161 The first is that concord classes 1 and 2 do include a large number of nouns with personal, human connotation, e.g.

Ò-mé:mé: 'Ugep person'	Yâ-mé:mé: 'Ugep people'
Ò-fîl 'Efik person'	Yâ-fîl 'Efik people'
ò-ból 'chief'	yâ-ból 'chiefs'

In folk-tales, animal characters are personalized and occur with concord elements as for classes 1 and 2 with the person prefix O- in matching verbal forms, even when their names do not have the O- nominal prefix, e.g.

È:pù ó-tó: kòbó: ké á:Bǔ:sì ò-fòṇṇà kpákpà

Monkey he-used hand of Cat he-dug-out peanuts

'Monkey used Cat's hand to dig out the peanuts'

Such personalized animal names come under subclass 1b or 2b.

3.3162 There are many words denoting animals which belong to the classes 7 and 8, e.g.

ètě̀n 'animal'	ntě̀n 'animals'
èbú 'goat'	mbú 'goats'
èbé̀m 'hare'	mbé̀m 'hares'
èblá 'dog'	mblá 'dogs'
èpàm 'cow'	mpàm 'cows'
èpù 'monkey'	mpù 'monkeys'
éfém 'crocodile'	mfém 'crocodiles'
èkùl 'hedge-hog'	ṛkùl 'hedge-hogs'
èkpè 'leopard'	ṛkpè 'leopards'
yòl 'snake'	yòl 'snakes'

3.3163 Some nouns denoting limbs belong to set 9/8, e.g.

kòbó: 'arm'	mbó: 'arms'
kòfè 'leg'	mfè 'legs'
kòtál 'thigh'	ntál 'thighs'
mpól 'calves of leg' (class 8).	

3.3164 Many nouns belonging to classes 5 and 9 are nominalized verb-radicals denoting 'the act of ...' or 'the process of...' (cf. 3.3121 (b), sub-section (ii)), e.g.

kê-jî: 'eating'	kê-pôî 'burning'
kê-kôî 'grinding'	kê-nôn 'cooking'
kô-tâmê 'pushing'	kô-dêî 'buying'
kô-kpê:yí 'selling'	kô-yîká 'putting a load down'

It may be noted that these nominalized verb-stems do not have a plural form.

3.3165 There are a number of nouns occurring with concord elements as for Class 10 and having the noun prefix l0- which denote 'the language of...', 'the speech manner of ...'. The only condition is that the noun-stem must have a personal or human connotation. The nominal stems of personal proper names do not figure in this group.

Examples.

Ô-mé:mé: 'Ugep person'	lô-mé:mé: 'Ugep dialect'
Ô-kôrî 'Ekuri person'	lô-kôrî 'Ekuri dialect'
Ô-ké:ké: 'Nko person'	lô-ké:ké: 'Nko dialect'
Ô-lô:mî 'Idomi person'	lô-lô:mî 'Idomi dialect'
ô-kpăŋkpăŋî 'Mkpani person'	lô-kpăŋkpăŋî 'Mkpani dialect'
ô-fólî 'slave'	lô-fólî 'a slave's manner of speech'
ô-ból 'chief'	lô-ból 'the manner of speech of a chief'

3.3166 Nouns which select Class 2 concord elements and have a singular meaning are generally nouns denoting liquids, e.g.

yâ-tù 'palm-wine'	yâ-yî 'blood'
yâ-mîê 'palm-oil'	yâ-mê: 'latex'

Apart from yâmê:, these nouns select Class 11 concord elements when

they have a plural meaning. No plural form has been recorded for yámê:, but if one did exist, it would be límê:, like the nouns in the group.

3.3167 Some nouns which select Class 4 concord elements and have a singular meaning only are generally nouns denoting 'uncountable' objects, e.g.

â-bén 'stool'	â-kókóná 'anger'
â-dén 'fatness'	â-nún 'smallness'
â-kìlì 'small-pox'	

3.317 Nominal Tone Patterns

Noun tone patterns in Lòkée are assigned to the total word rather than to the prefix and stem morphemes separately. The various nominal tone patterns that occur have already been described in the phonology (cf. section 2.42124). But it seems relevant to add here that tone patterns of nouns in isolation frequently change, sometimes involving the length of the prefix vowel, in accordance with their grammatical relationships. For example, the tone pattern of è-tó 'house' in isolation is L-H. But this tone sequence becomes:

- (a) L:-H, when the noun occurs as head of a locational phrase,
thus,
ké è:-tó 'in the house'
- (b) H:-L, when the noun occurs as head of a genitival phrase,
thus,
wé é:-tò 'of the house'

The tone of the noun in isolation is taken as its basic tone pattern throughout the grammatical description.

3.32 CLOSED-CLASS WORDS

3.321 NUMERALS

The first member of the closed-class word unit that we shall consider is the numeral.

There are three subclasses of numerals in Lòkéo:

- (a) cardinal numerals
- (b) distributive numerals
- (c) ordinal numerals

3.3211 Cardinal Numerals

The following cardinal numerals may be considered as the numeral 'bases' of Lòkéo:

1. wàná (concordant numeral replaceable by the alternatives bàná, jàná, yàná, sàná, kàná and fàná, subject to the rules of concord, cf. table 3.32113).
2. yà-pǒ: (concordant prefix yà- replaceable by the alternative prefixes à-, yĕ-, ñ-, lì- or yò-, subject to the rules of concord. When yà- is shown with a long vowel, viz yà:, then each alternative prefix also occurs with a long vowel).
3. yà-télé
4. yà-nǎ:
5. yà-tén
6. yà-tén-à-wàná (i.e. 5 + 1)

7. yā-tén yā:-pǒ: (i.e. 5 + 2)
8. yā-tén yā:-télé (i.e. 5 + 3)
9. yā-tén yā:-nǎ: (i.e. 5 + 4)
10. jǒ (invariable)
11. jǒ:-ā-wàná
12. jǒ: yā:-pǒ:
13. jǒ: yā:-télé
14. jǒ: yā:-nǎ:
15. jìb (invariable)
16. jìb-ā-wàná
17. jìb yā:-pǒ:
18. jìb yā:-télé
19. jìb yā:-nǎ:
20. lè-yáu (or lè-gáu)
21. lè-yáu òpólì wàná
22. lè-yáu òpólì yā-pǒ:
etc.
40. ǎ:-pǒ: (or ǎgáu ǎ:pǒ:)
41. ǎ:-pǒ: òpólì wàná
60. ǎ:-télé
80. ǎ:-nǎ:
100. ǎ:-tén
120. ǎ:-tén-ā-jàná
140. ǎ:-tén à:-pǒ:
160. ǎ:-tén à:-télé
180. ǎ:-tén à:-nǎ:
200. ǎ:-jǒ:

201. ǎ:-jǒ: òpélì wàná
220. ǎ:-jǒ:-à-jàná
221. ǎ:-jǒ:-à-jàná òpélì wàná
240. ǎ:-jǒ: à:-pǒ:
260. ǎ:-jǒ: à:-télé
280. ǎ:-jǒ: à:-ná:
300. ǎ:-jìb
320. ǎ:-jìb-à-jàná
340. ǎ:-jìb à:-pǒ:
400. lé-dù
401. lé-dù òpélì wàná
500. lé-dù òpélì ǎ:-tén
501. lé-dù òpélì ǎ:-tén òpélì wàná
800. á-dù à-pǒ:
1200. á-dù à-télé
4000. á-dù jǒ:

The occurring tone patterns are as marked above.

3.32111 Simple and Composite Numerals

The first four numerals, 1-4, are simple, in that they consist of one simple word. Simple are also numerals which may be described as 'numeral bases', i.e. numerals which figure multiples of 5 between 5 and 20 inclusive, and multiples of 20 between 20 and 100, as well as 200, 300 and 400.

All other numerals are described as composite or complex, i.e. they consist of a sequence of two or more numerals, the numerals being

either juxtaposed without a linking word or linked by the juncture vowel -â- or the word òpélî (which means 'plus') or both.

Numerals following either -â- or òpélî do not occur with a long prefatory syllable. Whenever a numeral is followed by the numerals 2 - 4 without a linking word, the concordant prefix for 2 - 4 is long.

3.32112 Concordant and Non-Concordant Numerals

All numerals are either concordant or non-concordant in form.

Non-concordant numerals are either variable or invariable.

Invariable non-concordant numerals are those numerals that have no recognisable prefix or prefix-like forms, i.e. jǒ: '10' and jìb '15'.

Variable non-concordant numerals are those numerals that have a recognisable prefix, but which manifest no sign of concord with their head noun; instead, they govern their own agreements and enter into a singular-plural pairing like other nouns in Class 4. These numerals are lè-gáu '20' and lé-dù '400', plural: à-gáu and á-dù respectively.

Examples.

yâ-nên lè-yáu '20 people', yâ-nên lé-dù '400 people', yâ-nên àgáu à-pǒ: '40 people', yâ-nên à-dú à-pǒ: '800 people'. They may therefore be said to behave like nominals, although they are numerals.

Concordant numerals are of two categories. One category consists of multiples of 20 and 400, which are concordant only in a limited way. They display concord with the numerals à-gáu and á-dù, which may or may not figure in the numeration, and not with their head noun which must be present. We may therefore say:

yâ-nên (à-gáu) ă:-pǒ: '40 people' (people 20 x 2)

n-tó (á-dù) â-télé '1200 people' (houses 400 x 3)

More often than not, à-gáu and á-dù are omitted. Note that the numerals following à-gáu always begin with a long /a/, marked by a low-high glide.

The other type of concordant numeral is the one that occurs with a 'dependent' prefix or prefix-like sequence displaying the concord mark of the class of its head noun. Numerals of this category have already been identified in the preceding list of numerals, and their alternative forms are enclosed in brackets.

Examples (dependant prefixes and prefix-like sequences underlined).

ð-nên wânâ 'one person'

kð-fè kâná 'one leg'

kè-jên sânâ 'one yam'

yâ-nên yâ-pǒ: 'two people'

m-fè m-pǒ: 'two legs'

yì-nòn fânâ 'one bird'

yð-nòn yð-pǒ: 'two birds'

yè-jó yè-pǒ: 'two yams'

lì-té:mì jânâ 'one farm'

à-té:mì à-pǒ: 'two farms'

yà-tù bānǎ 'one calabash of wine'

3.32113 The following table illustrates how the concordant numeral modifies its prefix or prefix-like sequence in response to nouns of different classes:

Nominal Class	Numeral 1	Examples	Numeral 2 - 4	Examples
1	wǎnǎ	ò-dém wǎnǎ 'one man'		
2	bānǎ	yà-yì bānǎ 'one family'	yà-pǒ:	yà-nèn yà-pǒ: 'two people'
3	jānǎ	lè-tú jānǎ 'one head'		
4	yānǎ	á-kpèn yānǎ 'one clump of raffia bamboos'	ā-pǒ:	ā-kpā ā-pǒ: 'two bags'
5	sānǎ	ké-tè sānǎ 'one trap'		
6	bānǎ	blǒŋ bānǎ 'the same clothes'	yè-pǒ:	yé-tè yè-pǒ: 'two traps'
7	yānǎ	è-tì yānǎ 'one road'		
8	yānǎ	ŋ-gēm yānǎ 'one back'	m-pǒ:	ñ-tì m-pǒ: 'two roads'
9	kānǎ	kò-tòn kānǎ 'one gift'		
10	jānǎ	lò-màn jānǎ 'one coin'		
11	jānǎ	děi jānǎ 'one year'	lì-pǒ:	lì-tòn lì-pǒ: 'two gifts'
12	fānǎ	yì-nòn fānǎ 'one bird'		
13	bānǎ	yò-jí bānǎ 'one palm-tree'	yò-pǒ:	yò-nòn yò-pǒ: 'two birds'
14	kānǎ	kā-kō: kānǎ 'one pig'		

Each of the seven forms of the numeral 1 has an emphatic and a non-emphatic form, thus:

NonEmphatic Form	Emphatic Form
wana	wǒ: wǎná
kǎná	kǒ: kǎná
sǎná	sǒ: sǎná
jǎná	jǒ: jǎná
fǎná	fǒ: fǎná
yǎná	yǒ: yǎná
bǎná	bǒ: bǎná

The emphatic form has the meaning of 'one only', 'just one' or 'the same one', e.g.

mǔn-ŋ kèn òtù-pó-wèn wǒ:wǎná

'please, give me just one cup of wine'

yǎnèn bímǎ:yádǎ yǎnèn bǒ:bǎná

'Those people come from the same family'

3.32114 Apart from the numeral 1, which, as we have just said, has seven concordant forms, and the composite numerals denoting 6, 11 and 16 or with the structure:

numeral base + òpélì + composite numeral 6, 11 or 16, all other concordant numerals, simple or composite, have each six forms, each form selecting an appropriate prefix or prefix-like sequence in concordant agreement with the head noun. Examples.

(a) Simple Concordant Numerals:

	Numeral Class
yà-nèn yà-pǒ: 'two people'	2
á-kpò ã-pǒ: 'two knots'	4
yè-jèn yè-pǒ: 'two yams'	6

<u>n</u> -tí <u>n</u> -pǒ: 'two sticks'	8
<u>l</u> i-kô: <u>l</u> i-pǒ: 'two pigs'	11
<u>y</u> ò-gáu <u>y</u> ò-pǒ: 'two mushrooms'	13

(b) Composite Concordant Numerals:

	Numeral Class
<u>y</u> à-sèn jǒ: <u>y</u> à:-télé 'thirteen visitors'	2
<u>á</u> -pó jǒ: <u>à</u> :-télé 'thirteen joints'	4
<u>y</u> è-nòuà jǒ; <u>y</u> è:-télé 'thirteen seats'	6
<u>n</u> -tó jǒ: <u>n</u> :-télé 'thirteen houses'	8
<u>l</u> i-kǎm jǒ: <u>l</u> i:-télé 'thirteen associations'	11
<u>y</u> ò-nòn jǒ: <u>y</u> ò:-télé 'thirteen birds'	13

3.32115 Composite numerals denoting 6, 11 or 16 or numerals with the structure:

numeral base + òpélì + composite numeral denoting 6, 11 or 16 have also six forms, but with this difference from those described in 3.32114, that only the first of the two numerals constituting the composite numeral is obligatorily concordant with the head noun, while the second, which is always translatable by 'one!', has the option of being concordant with the singular or plural class of the head noun, as illustrated in the table showing the concordance of the numerals 1 and 2 under section 3.32113 above. Thus, we have (nominal concord class enclosed in brackets):

<u>y</u> à-gè <u>y</u> à-tén-à:-	{ wàná (1) six matchets 'ets'
	{ bàná (2)
<u>à</u> -kpà <u>à</u> -tén-à:-	{ jàná (3) 'six bags'
	{ yàná (4)

yě-tě yě-tén-à:-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sàná (5)} \\ \text{bàná (6)} \end{array} \right.$	'six traps'
m-pù n-tén-à-yàná (7 & 8)		'six monkeys'
lì-gàbí lì-tén-à:-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kàná (9)} \\ \text{jàná (11)} \end{array} \right.$	'six pictures'
yò-pǎ: yò-tén-à:-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fàná (12)} \\ \text{bàná (13)} \end{array} \right.$	'six parts'

3.32116 The numerals 2 - 5 have the structure:

dependent prefix + numeral stem

The selection of the prefix is determined by the concord- class of the head noun, as exemplified in 3.32114(a) above.

3.32117 The highest simple numeral is lédù '400'. Numerals denoting multiples of lédù are frequently used. The second numeral in any multiple of lédù, as in all composite numerals, is always in concord with the first, e.g.

á-dù à-télé 1,200 (=400 x 3)
yà-nèn yà-tén yà:-télé '8 people'

The phrase ádù ké ǎ:dù is equivalent to the English 'thousands upon thousands', 'uncountable'.

3.32118 A cardinal numeral may function as head of a nominal phrase, e.g.

ódèlì yàtén mbè-mbè 'He took only five'.

It may also function in modifying relation within a nominal phrase, e.g.

Ódèlì yàsó:kóló yàtén mbè-mbè

'He took only five oranges'

3.3212 Distributive Numerals

Distributive numerals are formed by the reduplication of cardinal numerals, e.g.

wǒ:-wǒ: (concordant numeral) 'one each'

yà-pǒ:-yà-pǒ: (concordant prefix) 'two each'

yà-télé-yà-télé (concordant prefix) 'three each'

Distributive numerals reduplicating concordant cardinal numerals agree with their head noun as described above.

Distributive numerals function as a constituent of the clause in adjunct relation, e.g.

ótònlì bè yèjó yèpǒ:-yèpǒ:

'He gave them two yams each'

3.3213 Ordinal Numerals

Ordinal numerals are formed by attaching the suffix -á to cardinal numerals and lengthening the prefix. If the cardinal numeral does not have a prefix of its own, it acquires the prefix à-, which is then lengthened.

Examples.

yànèn yà:-tén-á 'fifth person'

òdém yà:pò:-á 'second man'

The ordinal numeral 1st is formed by constructing a compound

noun with the word ké-kéló-ètî, e.g. ð-nèn + ké-kéló-ètî, →
ké-nèn-kéló-ètî '1st person'.

3.3214 Brief General Comment on the Counting System of Lòkée.

The Lòkée numeration system, as it stands today, is manifestly unsatisfactory. The additive process employs four different methods; the juxtaposition of numerals, e.g. yàtén yà:pǒ: '7'; the juncture vowel -à-, e.g. jǒ:-à:wàná '11'; òpélî, e.g. ǎ:tén òpélî wàná '101'; and a combination of the juncture vowel and òpélî, e.g. ǎ:tén-à-jàná òpélî jìb '135'. Some simplification can be achieved by adopting only one method of addition, e.g. òpélî or the juxtaposition method.

Furthermore, the highest numeral base, lédù '400', is too low for our modern commercial and scientific needs. Clearly, simpler expressions denoting huge numbers like the million and the billion will have to be devised sooner or later.

3.322 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives in Lòkée may be divided into two subclasses: simple and complex adjectives.

Simple adjectives are one-word adjectives of a partially or fully reduplicated structure, e.g.

ð-dó-ð-dó 'another'

ð-pé-ð-pé 'new'

è-bě:-è-bě: 'all'

wǎŋ-wànā:yá 'every'

sǒ:-sô: (or sũ:-sũ:) 'many'

Complex adjectives, on the other hand, consist of two words, a concordant relator and an adjective-like word. e.g.

wé ô-dén 'big'

wé ô-dá:lí 'tasty'

wé ô-yí:yí 'beautiful'

Both types of adjectives may be distinguished from nouns. in that they function as attributive elements in nominal phrases.

With the exception of èbǎ:-èbǎ: and sǒ:-sô:, which are invariable, all other adjectives possess prefixes or sequences of prefixes, which are in concord with their head noun, e.g.,

è-tó è-dó-è-dó 'another house'

è-pé è-pé-è-pé 'a new moon'

yànèn bǎŋ-bànā:yá 'every group of people'

kò-nànà kó kò-dá:lí 'tasty soup'

è-pàm yé è-dén 'big cow'

Complex adjectives may also be self-standing, when they function as head of a nominal phrase, e.g.

wé ôdén ŋwè ŋ:wô:yí 'I want the big one'

The form of the complex adjective is determined by the class of its noun referent: in this example, class I.

There are very few adjectives in Lòkée. This is probably be-

cause a similar role is regularly performed either by a qualifying noun in a compound noun construct (cf. section 3.31222) or by a relative clause (cf. section 5.114)

3.323 POSSESSIVES

There are two types of possessives: simple and complex.

Simple possessives consist of one word, and function in qualifying relation within a nominal phrase, e.g.

	<u>Singular</u> ¹	<u>Plural</u>
1st Person	ɔ̣-mĩ 'my'	yá-mòn 'our'
2nd Person	ɔ̣-wù 'your'	yá-bà: 'your'
3rd person	ɔ̣-wé 'his/her'	yá-bé 'their'

The initial underlined sequences are prefixes which must be in concordant agreement with the noun qualified, e.g.

ɛ̣-tɔ̣ ɛ̣-mĩ 'my house'
 lì-té:mì lí-wù 'your farm'
 yè-télékpà yé-bé 'their domestic animals'

Complex possessives consist of two words functioning as a self-standing unit and head of a nominal phrase. As in the case of the self-standing adjective, the unit is composed of a concordant relator followed by an attributive possessive, e.g.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1st Person	wé ɔ̣-mĩ 'mine'	bé yá-mòn 'ours'

1. A possessive is described as singular or plural depending upon the singularity or plurality of its prefix.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
2nd Person	wó ɔ-wù 'yours'	bó yá-bà: 'yours'
3rd Person	wó ɔ-wé 'his/hers'	bó yá-bé 'theirs'

The form of the self-standing possessive, like that of the complex adjective, is specified by the class of the noun to which it refers back. Thus, in the sentence,

yé é-mì é-tùm é-dâl 'mine is very tasty'

the noun to which the possessive refers back must belong to nominal Class 7, in this particular case, é-těn 'meat'.

3.324 PRONOUNS

Pronouns may be primarily classified as either bound or self-standing.

Bound pronouns are verbal or 'pronominal' prefixes, which are always attached to verbal bases, e.g.

ó-kéi bǒŋ 'he is watching something'

yá-kéi bǒŋ 'they are watching something'

Self-standing pronouns, on the other hand, are not so attached. They may occur as distinct words in different positions within a sentence, e.g.

ókò bē kē 'He has seen them'

bē ké ò:kó 'He has not seen them'

Self-standing pronouns are also analysed as separate words because they are parallel to the noun in the following respects:

(i) The same phonological word junctures occur between these pronouns and the VP as between nouns and the VP, e.g. vowel elision at word junctures.

(ii) More importantly, unlike bound pronouns, self-standing pronouns may be followed by a relative clause in the same way as nouns are qualified by relative clauses.

Examples.

ònèn wé òbèbénási mín ótũm òtá bǒŋ

ŋwè wé òbèbénási mín ótũm òtá bǒŋ

'The man standing here is a very good dancer'

sí: é wé òbí límàn ò:yéní

sí: ònèn wé òbí límàn ò:yéní

'Despise the man who has no money'

The self-standing pronoun differs from the noun, however, in that it does not enter into complex noun constructions as do nouns, e.g.

kè-nèn-blǒŋ 'dark-skinned person'

but àmí wé òbí:lé 'I, who am dark-skinned'

Self-standing pronouns may be either personal, or non-personal. They are personal when they refer back to human beings, spiritual beings, e.g. Òbàsè 'God', and personalized animals in folk-tales.

Self-standing pronouns may occur either as subject or object pronouns. The following table is a paradigm of personal pronouns, occurring as subject or object:

	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Object</u>
1st Person: singular	ămí 'I'	Ḃ or mĩn 'me'
plural	ămǎn 'we'	mǎn 'us'
2nd Person: singular	ăwú 'you'	ô or wô 'you'
plural	ăbă: 'you'	bă: 'you'
3rd Person: singular	ḡwê 'he', 'she'	ê or wê 'him', 'her'
plural	m̃bê 'they'	bê 'them'

The following table is a paradigm of non-personal pronouns occurring as subject or object, arranged in the order in which the nominal classes have been given, with examples of nouns to which the pronouns may refer back:

<u>Nominal</u> <u>Class</u>	<u>Example of Noun(s)</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Object</u>
1	òbèlè 'pot'	ḡwê 'it'	ê 'it'
2	yâtù 'wine'; yàbèlè 'pots'	m̃bê 'it', 'they'	bê 'it', 'them'
3	lètú 'head'	ḡjê 'it'	jê 'it'
4	ânúḡ 'smallness'; àtú 'heads'	ḡyê 'it', 'they'	yê 'it', 'them'
5	kètí 'tree'	ḡsê 'it'	sê 'it'
6	yèjô 'piece of yam'; yètí 'trees'	m̃bê 'it', 'they'	bê 'it', 'them'
7	ètí 'stick'	ḡyê 'it'	yê 'it'
8	ḡgêm 'back'; ḡtí 'sticks'	ḡyê 'it', 'they'	yê 'it', 'them'
9	kòtòn 'gift'	ḡkê 'it'	kê 'it'
10	lòwí 'water'	ḡjê 'it'	jê 'it'
11	wǒl 'body'; lītòn 'gifts'	ḡjê 'it', 'they'	jê 'it', 'them'
12	yìnḡn 'bird'	m̃fê 'it'	fê 'it'
13	yòjí 'palm-tree'; yòḡnì 'elephants'	m̃bê 'it', 'they'	bê 'it', 'them'
14	kàkô: 'pig'	ḡkê 'it'	kê 'it'

In general, the tones that occur are those marked above. They may be conditioned by a preceding tone sequence.

3.3241 Subject Pronouns

Pronouns occur as subject when they function as head of a subject nominal phrase, either alone or qualified by a relative clause.

Note that the occurrence of the 1st and 2nd person plural pronouns in certain subordinate clauses has the effect of deleting the bound pronoun of the verbal word or predicator, e.g.

yânên yákéi dé á:môn yǝ-wòlèi bôl

'People are watching us play football'

mâ: ódó òtòbà wé á:bà yǝ-tò:wèi yáné:yì kójê:

'That is the matchet you use for hunting'

This construction normally occurs in subordinate clauses without the future particle *nê* and with structures like those given in the above examples.

The structure of the non-personal 3rd person subject pronoun consists of a concordant relator prefixed by a homorganic syllabic nasal.

The occurrence of a self-standing pronoun as head of the *S_{NP}* in a nuclear clause usually implies emphasis, e.g.

âmí né ñkòu, àwú ò:dé

'I shall go myself, not you'

âmí né mbì ñkàm ó á:dé á:wù â:kámí ñ kè íyà:sí

'I myself shall help you(one day) just as you've helped me today'

3.3242 Object Pronouns

Object pronouns function as head of an object nominal phrase, either standing alone or qualified by a relative clause.

The syllabic nasal form of the 1st person pronoun and the V-form of the 2nd and 3rd person pronouns only occur following a verb-form. These forms may be described as weak, since they are often absorbed phonetically by the verb-forms they follow.

mĩn occurs only before the verb in negative clauses.

All other pronoun forms may occur before or after the verb.

Examples.

ókě: m̃ k̃è 'He has seen me'

ŋk̃è ɔ̃ k̃è 'I have seen you'

ák̃è ɛ̃ k̃è-ó? 'Have you seen him?'

mĩn ò:k̃é: 'He did not see me'

wó ŋ:k̃é: 'I did not see you'

wé ŋ:k̃é: 'I did not see him/her'

ŋk̃ò wò k̃è 'I have shown(it) to you'

ŋk̃è b̃è k̃è 'I have seen them'

b̃é ŋ:k̃é: 'I have not seen them'

The non-personal 3rd person pronoun is concordant with the class of the noun to which it refers back, this concordance being manifested by the initial consonant of the relator.

3.325 DEMONSTRATIVES

Demonstratives may be classified as either self-standing

or attributive.

Self-standing demonstratives are those that function as head of a nominal phrase, while attributive demonstratives are those that function in qualifying relation within the nominal phrase.

Whether a demonstrative is functioning as head of a nominal phrase or as an attributive within it, its initial consonant is governed by the noun to which it refers back. In other words, a demonstrative must point to the noun with which it is in concordant agreement, and this noun is obligatorily present in the phrase in which the demonstrative occurs as an attributive, and obligatorily absent in the phrase of which the demonstrative is head.

3.3251 The following are the full paradigms of three common demonstratives, ímà, ídà and íkà, arranged in the order of the 14 nominal concord classes:

Nom- inal Class	Initial Conson- ant as Concord Element	F O R M S				
		1. 'this one'	2. 'the other one'			3. 'that other one'
1	w-	ímà: ímìn ímìnà:	ídà: ídì(n)	ídìnà:		íkà: íkìn íkìnà:
2	b-	bímà: bímìn bímìnà:	bídà: bídì(n)	bídìnà:		bíkà: bíkìn bíkìnà:
3	j-	jímà: jímìn jímìnà:	jídà: jídì(n)	jídìnà:		jíkà: jíkìn jíkìnà:
4	y-	ímà: ímìn ímìnà:	ídà: ídì(n)	ídìnà:		íkà: íkìn íkìnà:
5	S-	símà: símìn símìnà:	sídà: sídì(n)	sídìnà:		síkà: síkìn síkìnà:
6	b-	bímà: bímìn bímìnà:	bídà: bídì(n)	bídìnà:		bíkà: bíkìn bíkìnà:
7	y-	ímà: ímìn ímìnà:	ídà: ídì(n)	ídìnà:		íkà: íkìn íkìnà:

8	y-	ímà: ímìn ímìnà: ídà: ídì(n) ídìnà: íkà: íkìn íkìnà:
9	k-	kímà: kímìn kímìnà: kídà: kídì(n) kídìnà: kídà: kíkìn kíkìnà:
10	j-	jímà: jímìn jímìnà: jídà: jídì(n) jídìnà: jíkà: jíkìn jíkìnà:
11	j-	jímà: jímìn jímìnà: jíkà: jíkì(n) jíkìnà: jíkà: jíkìn jíkìnà:
12	f-	fímà: fímìn fímìnà: fídà: fídì(n) fídìnà: fíkà: fíkìn fíkìnà:
13	b-	bímà: bímìn bímìnà: bídà: bídì(n) bídìnà: bíkà: bíkìn bíkìnà:
14	k-	kímà: kímìn kímìnà: kídà: kídì(n) kídìnà: kídà: kíkìn kíkìnà:

3.3252 The initial concord consonants w- and y- do not occur in demonstratives.

3.3253 The columns 1, 2 and 3 represent the three degrees of deixis in Lòkóó. Each degree has 3 forms which are naturally interchangeable without any discrimination in meaning or context of situation. Thus, ímà, ímìn and ímìnà are identical in meaning and can replace each other freely in any given context. In the same way, ídà, ídì, ídìn and ídìnà are in free variation and belong to the same six forms altogether, only one of which is selected in each case by the rules of concord in agreement with the class of the given noun. For instance, the six forms of ímà are ímà: for nouns of classes, 1, 4 and 7 and 8; bímà: for nouns of classes, 2, 6 and 13; jímà: for nouns of classes 3, 10 and 11; símà: for nouns of class 5; kímà: for nouns of classes 9 and 14; and fímà: for nouns in class 12.

The column 1 demonstrative; i.e. ímà, ímìn or ímìnà, points to objects relatively near the speaker or the hearer. It may be roughly translated as 'this one/these ones'.

The column 2 demonstrative, i.e. ídà; ídì(n) or ídìnà; points to objects which are relatively far away from the speaker or the hearer. It may therefore be translated as 'that one/those ones.'

The column 3 demonstrative, i.e. íkà; íkìn or íkìnà; points to objects which are relatively far away from the speaker or the hearer not only in space but also in time. In other words, the forms of ídà; and íkà; are distinguished from those of ímà; from the point of view of space, and íkà; is distinguished from ídà; from the point of view of time, íkà; always pointing to objects with a past reference. Examples.

ńyè: ké ńwènè ímà: yé á:tò: nà:

'I have read the book which you are holding'

ńyè: ké ńwènè ídà: yé ńyáu dé lò:sè dā:

'I have read that book lying on the floor over there'

ńyè: ké ńwènè íkà: yè â:ní kǎi m̃ kà:

'I have read that book which you had given me before'

íkà: òkà:ná m̃ kè, ńwó:yí ímìn óbè ídà:

'I am tired of that (old) one, I want this one and the other'

Note that the use of any demonstrative implies that there are at least two entities, and possibly three, under consideration, of which one or two are not being referred to.

There are three other stronger, but less frequently used, demonstratives which may also function either as head of a noun phrase or as an attributive element within a nominal phrase. These are:

ímǎ:nî 'that one over there'

ídǎ:nî 'that other one'

íkǎ:nî 'that other one far away'

Each of these has a more emphatic form:

ímǎ:nî: 'that very one over there'

ídǎ:nî: 'the other one over there'

íkǎ:nî: 'that other one far away'

3.326 ADVERBS

The closed word class of adverbs consists of two subclasses:
ordinary adverbs and ideophones.

The subclass of ordinary adverbs is rather small, since adverbial concepts are regularly expressed in Lòkée by a further verb, e.g. 'soon' is translatable by ǒ:gè:nè 'it will not be long'.

3.3261 Ordinary Adverbs

Ordinary adverbs fall into three main categories:

- (a) Adverbs of place.
- (b) Adverbs of time.
- (c) Adverbs of manner.

3.32611 Adverbs of Place

There are two types of adverbs of place: demonstrative locative adverbs and non-demonstrative locative adverbs.

The difference between them is that demonstrative locative adverbs

are deictic in function, while the non-demonstrative locative adverbs are not.

Examples of the demonstrative locative adverbs are:

kâ: 'there', 'over there'

mâ: 'here', 'over here'

dîn }
mîn } 'over here, not there'

dâ: 'over there, not here'

kînâ: 'over here'

mînâ: 'here'

The following non-demonstrative locative adverbs are common:

kânê:ní 'outside', 'on top'

kâmlě: 'inside'

lîbó: 'somewhere'

dêndé-dêndé 'everywhere', 'anywhere'

bôn-bôn 'nowhere'

kêpèl-èpèl 'far away'

èlê:lú 'nearby'

kópà: 'by the side'

Locative adverbs usually precede the verb in negative clauses, and follow it in positive clauses, e.g.

dâ: ò:dó 'He is not there'

óyáu dâ: 'He is there'

lújí lówù lóyáu ké òkpókóró kânê:ní

'Your food is on the table'

bōŋ-bōŋ may only be used in a negative clause,

e.g. bōŋ-bōŋ ǎ:kù:yī

'You are not going anywhere'

dēndé-dēndé, on the other hand, occurs in both positive and negative clauses, e.g.

yáwənné ké dēndé-dēndé 'They have cleared all the bush'

dēndé-dēndé yǎ:kōi 'They didn't go anywhere'

3.32612 Adverbs of Time

The following temporal adverbs are commonly used:

ísén 'yesterday', 'during yesterday'

íyà:sí 'today', 'by today'

kò:wé 'tomorrow', 'by tomorrow'

kèpóm 'in the morning'

képlákòn 'in the afternoon'

kèdó:wé 'in the evening'

dèl 'at night'

dě:dē:sà 'at night'

óplákòn-dó:wé {
óplákòn-dò:wé { 'by late afternoon', 'by early evening'

ńtũŋŋə-ńtũŋŋə 'at dawn', 'by dawn'

Each one of these adverbs is a noun in its own right, and they become temporal adverbs only when they are so used in the clause in which they occur, e.g.

kò:wě kádùkě káyè: ké (kò:wě used as S_{NP})

'Tomorrow has already come'

kò:wě ɲkù:yì kèblê: (kò:wě used as adverb)

'Tomorrow, I am going to farm'

Because temporal adverbs have the form of nouns, they may be qualified by a relative clause or an adjectival phrase or word, e.g.

ɲyè: mà: ìsén wě á:bì mà: à:dé

I came yesterday that you were not in , i.e.

'I came yesterday when you were not in'

ìsén imà: yówólí bôl yòwò:nà ké

That yesterday, we played football until we were tired

i.e. 'What a day yesterday was! we played football until we were tired'

3.32613 Adverbs of Manner

Lòkée has very few adverbs of manner, manner adverbial concepts being regularly expressed by ideophones. The most common adverbs of manner are:

épál 'quickly'

dènènè 'properly', 'really'

kópà: 'by the side', 'side-ways'

Each of these adverbs may be reduplicated, either fully or partially, to intensify their meaning, e.g.

épál-è:pál 'very quickly'

dènènènè 'properly indeed'

kópà :-kópà: 'sideways'

The reduplicated forms are more commonly used than the non-reduplicated forms.

A few nouns may be reduplicated to form adverbs of manner, e.g.

ètì 'road' → ètì-ètì 'straight', 'without stopping
or delaying along the road'

kàwón 'the top' → kàwón-kàwón 'through the air'

e.g. yósèṅ mǎn kàwón-kàwón yòkòu Lagos

we walked us by top we went Lagos

i.e. 'We went to Lagos by air'

3.3262 Ideophones

Ideophones are noises expressing the manner of the verb action or state. They differ from ordinary adverbs in that their phonological structure lies outside the dominant phonological system, being characterized by reduplication and accentuated pitch contrasts, consonantal clusters, and very long nasalized vowels.

Ideophones occur very frequently in conversation, and particularly in story-telling, when narrators use them to make their story more vivid and more dramatic.

A reduplicated ideophone usually implies an intensification of its non-reduplicated lexical load. Thus, dèṅ means 'slowly', dèṅ-dèṅ 'very slowly' and dèṅ-dèṅ-dèṅ 'very very slowly'.

Examples

m̄mā: wó òdén ɔ̀tò dùt ké lò:sè

'A fat woman fell on the ground with a thud'

yóyáu mínà: ékòn ímè èmàrà kèn vòlòp

'We were here when the fire flared up suddenly'

mòn dā: yǒ:bàlà, yòl ébákáí yé ká: ɛ̀tò kèn

'Suddenly, a snake fell down from a height

gbàràb. ébé ké kóhgh

with a bang. It died immediately without a struggle.

íkpénéí m̄: è:té ímā: òmè ɔ̀témí wèn ímā: yíbòh kǒi

'I was looking when the old man gave the child a hard knock on
the head'

ódìbè yìnòn kpáb

'He caught the bird with one hand in the air'

ódìbè yìnòn bìb

'He caught the bird with two hands pressing it to the ground'

Tones marking adverbs in isolation, like nominal tone patterns in the isolate form, sometimes change according to the context in which they occur. This change affects mostly the high-low glide which becomes a long low glide when the glide is preceded by a verb in the Aorist Aspect, e.g.

dā: → dà: in the sentence:

yóyè: dà: òdówà ké

'When we got there he was asleep'

3.327 RELATORS

The closed word class of relators may be divided into two sub-

classes:

- (a) relators introducing adverbial phrases, and
- (b) relators functioning as 'genitival' phrase introducers or relative clause introducers.

3.3271 The adverbial relator subclass consists of locative and temporal adverbial phrase introducers.

3.32711 The locative relators are two in number: *dé* and *ké*. *dé* introduces 'locations' which are relatively near the speaker or hearer, and *ké* introduces relatively distant 'locations', e.g.

à:kà óyáu dé lì:té:mì

'Your mother is in the farm' (i.e. which is not far from here).

à:kà óyáu ké lì:té:mì

'Your mother is in the farm' (i.e. which is far away).

3.32712 The temporal relators also consist of two members: *mé* and *ké*. *mé* introduces a temporal point of reference that is relatively near the time of speech, and *ké* introduces a temporal point of reference that is relatively distant from the time of speech, e.g.

nè yókòu kèblê: mé kò:ké:

'We shall go to farm on kobə market day' (i.e. in a few days'time).

nè yókòu kèblê: ké kò:ké

'We shall go to farm on koke market day' (i.e. in many days' time).

ké occurs more often as a locative relator than as a temporal relator.

Both locative and temporal relators are followed by a noun whose initial syllable must be marked by either a long low tone or a low-

high glide. The tone is long low when the noun in its isolate form has a syllable initial low tone, and it is low-high when the syllable initial tone of the noun in isolation is high, thus:

lòsè → ñwènè ímà:ńyáu ké lò:sè 'The books are on the floor'

ékpòn → ètɔ́ éwé ébé:yí ké ẽ:kpòn 'His house stands on a hill'

3.3272 The genitival phrase or relative clause introducer sub-class consists of seven relators which agree with their antecedent(s) or head noun(s) in concord-class. The following table illustrates the total membership of this sub-class and the nominal class or classes governing each one of them:

Genitival Phrase/ Relative Clause Introducer	Governing Nominal Class
wé	1, e.g. òdém wé... 'the man who...'
bé	2, 6 and 13, e.g. yákpè: bé... 'the hawks which...' yètèm bé... 'the lizards which...' yòjí bé... 'the palm-tree which...'
jé	3, 10 and 11, e.g. lèkóm jé... 'the compound which...' lòtí-dù jé... 'the fruit which...' lìmàn jé... 'the money which...'
yé	4, 7 and 8, e.g. àtú yé... 'the heads which...' ètèn yé... 'the meat which...' nìtì yé... 'the paths which...'
sé	5, e.g. kékòl sé... 'the noise which...'
ké	9 and 14, e.g. kòtòn ké... 'the gift which...' kàkò: ké... 'the pig which...'
fé	12, e.g. yìnnònn fé... 'the bird which...'

3.32721 Relators introducing genitival phrases

The following are examples of genitival phrases introduced by relators:

ètó yé ó:bòl 'the chief's house'

lèkém jé ó:bòl 'the chief's compound'

bàněñ bẹ́ ó:bòl 'the chief's wives'

It should be noted that, unlike the tone sequence in the adverbial phrase, the genitival phrase relator is always followed by a noun with a long high-tone initial syllable whatever the syllable initial tone of the noun in its isolate form.

3.32722 Relators introducing relative clauses

The following are examples of sentences in which relators introduce relative clauses:

ònèn wé òfúní kèn mà: ótũm òkpél

'The man who is coming is very tall'

kébē: sẹ́ áfì yè: mǎ: wǎ: ñ:ké:

The time which you should be here you I did not see

'At the time you should be here, I did not see you'

ítũm ñkẹ́ ètòm yé yǎnèn yǎné:yí àwì ímà:

'I have seen enough of the life which people are leading nowadays'

kě: ìn lǒwí jé lǒyí:yí

Give me water that is good

'Give me good water'

3.328 PRE-VERB AND POST-VERB PARTICLES

Lòkée has a small closed class of pre-verb and post-verb particles. These are:

nmè, a pre-verb sequential particle.

ké, a perfective or completive post-verb particle

ká, an Imperative negative pre-verb particle

nè, a future pre-verb particle

tè, a hortative pre-verb particle as well as a conjunction introducing a purpose dependent clause.

dé ñnè, a conjunction introducing a purpose dependent clause

ké ñnè, a conjunction introducing a temporal dependent clause

tùtù, a conjunction introducing a temporal dependent clause.

wé ñnè, a relative clause introducer.

3.3281 nmè

nmè, also ñmè or ñmê:, may occur as a dependent clause introducer, e.g.

lèwì lê:sò:wé ké nmè áyè: mã:

When it is morning, before you come there

'Come when it is morning'

3.3282 ké

ké occurs after the verb in positive clauses and before the verb in negative clauses, but it is mainly conceived of as a post-verb particle.

The tone on the clitic is always high when the particle occurs

before the verb. It is mostly high when it occurs after the verb, being low only when it follows an inherently high-tone monosyllabic verb-stem realizing, in conjunction with the appropriate prefixal shape and tone, the perefactive aspect.¹

Examples

ké ă:yò tè átóli lîmàn jíma:

'You have not forgotten to return that money'

áyò ké tè átóli lîmàn jíma:

'You have forgotten to return that money'

átò kè lòbè lòbòndò: ké

'You have cried enough'

3.3283 ká

ká is always marked by high tone. It always immediately precedes the imperative verb it negates.

Examples

ké lêmà ká fèlî 'Don't lock the door'

kékòl ká fînrià 'Don't make noise'

The tone on the imperative verb preceded by the particle is always low, as the above examples show.

3.3284 nè

nè is always marked by low tone. It gives a future meaning to any clause in which it occurs.

Examples

1. Cf. also section 4.1314.

nè ñyè: dé láwù kèdó:wé

'I shall come to your house in the evening'

nè yákpé bôn kò:wé?

'What will you learn tomorrow?

3.3285 tè

tè introduces a hortative sentence. It is always marked by low tone.

Examples

tè yókòu kèblâ: 'Let's go to farm'

tè ónên yònénén kè à:-wǒl líwé

'Let him work by himself'

3.3286 ínè

3.32861 The ínè of dé ínè and kè ínè, like nè, gives a future meaning to the clause in which it occurs. The tone on dé and kè is always high. The tone pattern on ínè is H L, but sometimes the initial tone is phonetically extended. Both dé and kè are not concordant particles.

Examples

ñwó:yí dé ínè ñsél ñwè yònénén yómì

'I want so that I may quickly finish work my

'I want to finish my work quickly'

nè ñkè-ò kè ínè áwè kè yònénén yówù

'I shall see you when you have finished your work'

3.32862 wé í:nè differs from the preceding conjunctions in that it

is a relative conjunction. The initial wé is concordant with the noun to which it refers back and therefore can take the different forms of the relator listed under section 3.314. The tone on wé is always high, while í:nè is marked by a H: L tone sequence, although the initial tone is sometimes heard as slightly short. The conjunction renders the verb it precedes future.

Examples

bèn bímà:yáwó:yí ònèn wé í:nè ókàm bé

'The children want someone who will help them'

bèn bímà:yáwó:yí yànèn bés í:nè yákàm bé

'The children want people who will help them'

The noun phrase subject of the clause introduced by the relative conjunction may come between the relator and the futurizing particle, e.g.

áyì:mé ké kébê: sè á:wòu í:nè ótê: ówòn?

'Do you know the time that your father will come back?'

Note that when this happens, í:nè may take the simpler form of nè, thus

áyì:mé ké kébê: sè á:wòu nè ótê: ówòn?

3.3287 tùtù

tùtù is always marked by low tone. It introduces a subordinate temporal clause, e.g.

bé: mǎ: tùtù ñyè: mǎ:

'Wait here until I come'

tùtù ájǒ: m̃ yê:kâ, wô: kê kâ: m̃:blâ: ŋkê:

until you-say me sorry your perf-part. there I-shall-I give
not-leave

'Until you apologise to me, I shall not forgive you'

3.329 INTERROGATIVE WORDS

Interrogative words involve a cross-classification, i.e. all such words also belong to other word classes already described, e.g. yápân, 'how many' may also be considered as a numeral word, ŋwé, as a particle, dëndé, 'where?' as an adverb, etc. It is for this reason that this class of words is being treated last here.

Interrogatives are words whose presence indicate a question. They are distinguished from nouns and other classes of words in that they occur only in interrogative clauses or phrases.

Interrogative words may be divided into two classes:

- (a) interrogative words which have a concord prefix or prefix-like sequence,
- (b) interrogative words which do not display any concord element.

3.3291 Concordant Interrogative Words

This class comprises the following members:

- (a) wêŋwé? 'which one?' 'who?'

This question word may be self-standing as head of a noun phrase or attributive within a noun phrase.

Examples

self-standing : ódó bêmbé áwò:yì? (Noun referent yànhèn 'people')

'Which (people) do you want?'

Ódó fēmǎé áwò:yî? (Noun referent yîñn 'bird')

'Which (bird) are you looking for?'

attributive:

Ódó ètěn yēnyé áwò:yî?

'Which meat do you want?'

Ódó kākō: kēnké kàdēyō:

'Which pig do you like?'

As these examples show, the interrogative, whether self-standing or functioning in qualifying relation, is always in concordant agreement with the class of its noun to which it refers back.

The following table represents the various forms of the interrogative word and the corresponding nominal classes which control them.

Interrogative Form	Controlling Nominal Class(es)
wēŋwé	1
bēmǎé	2, 6, 13
jēnjé	3, 10, 11
yēnyé	4, 7, 8
sēnsé	5
kēnké	9, 14
fēmǎé	12

(b) yápân? 'how many?'

Like, wēŋwé, yápân may function both as a self-standing word or as an attributive item.

Examples

attributive: nè ákě̀ m̃ yě̀-jó yě̀-pâŋ?

'How many yams will you give me?'

áyení yě̀-nòn yě̀-pâŋ?

'How many chicken do you have?'

self-standing: áwó:yí yá-pâŋ? (Noun referred to: yà-nèn 'people')

'How many (people) do you want?'

The plural connotation of the interrogative word means that the head noun must also convey plurality. Thus, yòjí yópâŋ? is incorrect, since yòjí 'palm-tree' has only a singular meaning. The correct collocation is m̃-kpíl m̃-pâŋ? 'how many palm-trees?'

(c) yábân?, 'who?'

yá-bân may function only as a self-standing nominal phrase. Although its concord prefix suggests that the word may refer to any class 2 noun, in fact this is not the case: it may refer to only one noun: yà-nèn 'people', e.g.

yábân yàyó: m̃:?

'Who (i.e. which people) came?'

Who? (singular) is translatable by ñě:, but this interrogative word has no concordant element, and will therefore be considered in the next section.

3.3292 Non-Concordant Interrogative Words

(a) nně:?; m̃bôn?, bôn?, which ask the question 'who' (singular)? 'what?' respectively.

nně:, like yábân, may refer back to only one noun : ònèn 'person',

e.g.

nně: òfúní kên mã:?

'Who is coming over there?'

mbôŋ and bôŋ are interrogative forms of bôŋ 'thing'. They therefore have an inherent singular meaning. mbôŋ occurs before the verb, and bôŋ after the verb.

Examples

mbôŋ á:nə:yì? }
áně:yí bôŋ? } 'What are you doing?'

The example with mbôŋ shows that the tone pattern of the accompanying verb is that of the Relative Clause Type I (cf. chapter 4).

mbôŋ may collocate with òkà:mâ, and the expression mbôŋ òkà:mâ means 'why?' e.g. mbôŋ òkà:mâ ă:yè:lə?

'Why didn't you answer when called?'

(b) ñwě? introduces polar questions, e.g.

ñwě yòwà yóyùì yò?

'Are you hungry?'

(c) dēndě? asks the question 'where?' e.g.

áwí:yí dēndě?

'Where do you live?'

bôŋ also asks the question 'where?' when it is accompanied by a verb of motion, e.g.

ákù:yì bôŋ? 'Where are you going?'

(d) yàŋ may occur alone or collocate with òkà:mâ.

When it occurs alone, it is always the final word in the clause or sentence in which it occurs, and is translatable by 'how', e.g.

wòl líwù lídé yān?

body your it-is how

'How are you?'

ámèn ètǎ éwù yān?

You-built house your how

'How did you build your house?'

ásèn yān áyì:mó mīn?

you-walked how you-knew here

'How did you manage to know this place?'

When yān occurs with òkǎ:mā, the expression always occurs clause-initially. The tone of yān changes to yān, and the expression yān òkǎ:mā means 'why?' 'for what reason?' , e.g.

yān òkǎ:mā àjèu á:jā:?

'Why did you say that?'

(e) kǐn or kī occurs alone in nominal interrogative questions, and means 'where is?' , 'what is?' , e.g.

ò:mīnī kǐn?

'Where is Omini?'

lègén léwù kǐn?

reason your where is

'What is your reason?'

kǐn and kī are in free variation: kǐn is more commonly used.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MORPHEME AND THE WORD UNIT (PART II).

4.0 Introduction

In the preceding chapter, the non-verbal word was described.
The subject of this chapter is the verbal word.

4.1. VERBS

Two types of verbs may be distinguished in Iòkèè: simple and compound.

Simple verbs are verb-forms occurring without an auxiliary, e.g.

kpé:nó ké â:kù:yí

'Look where you are going'

nè yókòu yójí bǒŋ ǒ:gè:nè

shall we-go we-eat thing it-will-not-be-long

'We shall go and eat soon'

Compound verbs, on the other hand, are verb-forms consisting of a main verb preceded by one or more auxiliaries, e.g.

òàsè ótúm ótè: àwí ímà:

rain it-very it-rains days these

'It is raining heavily these days'

yàsèn bímà: yákání yáblè: ké

guests those they-long-ago they-went have

'The guests have been gone for a long time'

4.11 Simple Verbs

Simple verbs, like nouns, belong to the open class of words. They occur with one of two morphemic structures: + Prefix + Stem or + Stem. The presence of the stem morpheme in both structures indicates that it

is an obligatory element in the structure of simple verbs. The absence or presence of a prefix in the structure of a simple verb denotes that the verb-form is imperative¹ or non-imperative respectively.

The following examples illustrate the + Prefix + Stem structure of simple verbs, the prefix always occurring word-initially and here separated from the stem by a hyphen:

ètòm é-dé kòyǔ:

life it-is fight

'Life is a perpetual struggle'

kèndàmà símà: ké-bùwè kè

seat the it-is-spoilt has

'The chair is in a state of disrepair'

The following examples illustrate the + Stem structure of simple verbs:

kpé ñwènè ímìn

study book this

'Study this book'

kǒu lòwí

go water

'Go and fetch some water'

4.111 The Verbal Prefix

There are two classes of verbal prefixes.

(a) 1st and 2nd person prefixes which refer back to and are in concordant agreement with 1st and 2nd person subject pronouns, these pro-

1. The verb-form of a relative clause in which a 1st or 2nd person plural pronoun occurs is also + Stem, e.g. má: ódó òkùkùm wé á:bà: tò:wèi yàmù:mì kèjí 'That is the matchet which you use for cutting palm-fruits'. yànèn yákéi dé á:mòn wòlèi bôl 'People are watching how we are playing football'

nouns being often understood to be present rather than overtly expressed in the clause in which the verbal prefixes occur: ¹

- N- 1st person sing. prefix governed by the subject pronoun àmí 'I'
- yO- 1st person plural prefix governed by the subject pronoun àmǎn 'we'
- a- 2nd person sing. prefix governed by the subject pronoun àwú 'you'
- ya- 2nd person plural prefix governed by the subject pronoun àbă: 'you'

(b) verbal prefixes governed by the fourteen nominal classes:

O- governed by nominal class 1 nouns

ya-	"	"	"	"	2	"
lE-	"	"	"	"	3	"
a-	"	"	"	"	4	"
kE-	"	"	"	"	5	"
yE-	"	"	"	"	6	"
E-	"	"	"	"	7	"
N-	"	"	"	"	8	"
kO-	"	"	"	"	9	"
lO-	"	"	"	"	10	"
li-	"	"	"	"	11	"
yi-	"	"	"	"	12	"
yO-	"	"	"	"	13	"
ka-	"	"	"	"	14	"

Class (a) prefixes will be referred to as 'pronominal verbal prefixes', and class (b) prefixes as 'non-pronominal verbal prefixes'.

1. The overt presence of a 1st or 2nd person subject pronoun in a clause always implies emphasis, e.g.

ḡ-kpéi é bǒḡ 'I am teaching him' (prefix underlined)
 àmí ḡ-kpéi é bǒḡ 'I am the one teaching him'
 (1st pers. subj. pronoun and prefix underlined).

It is noticeable that some pronominal and non-pronominal prefixes are identical in shape, but different in meaning. These are:

- N-, which is both a 1st person singular prefix meaning 'I' and a nominal class 8 verbal prefix meaning 'it' or 'they'
- yO-, which is both a 1st person plural prefix meaning 'we' and a nominal class 13 verbal prefix meaning 'it' or 'they'
- a-, which is both a 2nd person singular prefix meaning 'you' and a nominal class 4 verbal prefix meaning 'it' or 'they'
- ya-, which is both a 2nd person plural prefix meaning 'you' and a nominal class 2 verbal prefix meaning 'it' or 'they'

The similarity in the shape of these verbal prefixes would appear to constitute a potential source of grammatical and semantic confusion. In fact, this is not the case. The linguistic and grammatical contexts in which each verbal prefix is used are so specific that this potential ambiguity does not arise. For instance, while a non-pronominal prefix obligatorily requires to be preceded, either in the same clause or in a preceding one, by a specific controlling noun with which it is in concordant agreement, a pronominal prefix cannot be preceded by a controlling noun and may only be governed by a 1st or 2nd person subject pronoun, which is often omitted. For example, the sentence m-fúní kên, when the syllabic nasal verbal prefix is not preceded by a controlling noun, has only one meaning 'I am coming', the verbal prefix m- here being governed by the 1st person subject pronoun ámí 'I', the presence of which is not required in the structure of this sentence. Similarly, yá-wái lówí means 'you are drinking water', since the underlined verbal prefix does not here refer back to any controlling noun with which it must be in concordant agreement. On the other hand, mbú m-fúní kên must mean 'The goats are coming', given that the syllabic nasal verbal prefix is preceded by a controlling noun of nominal class 8 with which the prefix is in concord agreement. And the sentence yànnèn yá-

wáí. lówí means 'The people are drinking water', since the prefix ya- refers back to the preceding noun of nominal class 2, yǎnèn 'people', functioning here as subject of the sentence. This rule is so important and so fundamental that there are no circumstances in which its infringement can be tolerated. Therefore, whenever, in our examples or tables, the verbal prefix ya- is translated as 'it' or 'they', i.e. taken as a non-pronominal prefix, the presence of a controlling noun is tacitly assumed. For instance, if we translated the sentence yǎ-wáí lówí as 'They are drinking the water', then it is automatically assumed that a noun of class 2 is the obligatory subject of the sentence, hence the translation. This explanation is important since it is relevant to many examples in the thesis.

The tones that may mark these prefix shapes are: H, L, H:, L:, HL or LM. The selection of the appropriate tone is specified partly by the inherent tone pattern of the verb-stem, and partly through the mood, aspect and/or polarity of the clause in which the verb occurs. These features are described in the following sections.

4.112 The Verb-Stem

Verb-stems of Lókóé simple verbs may be divided into two primary classes on the criterion of their differences in tone patterning: high-tone and low-tone. It is probably easiest to identify a verb-stem as either inherently high-tone or low-tone through its Aorist verb-form. A verb is inherently high-tone or low-tone, if its Aorist verb-stem is marked by high tone or low tone respectively. Examples.

High-Tone Verbs

yǎ-ké: 'they saw'

yǎ-yúi 'they shook'

Low-Tone Verbs

yǎ-kèi 'they gave'

yǎ-yù: 'they fought'

yá-sídá 'they swept'	yá-dìbê 'they caught'
yá-pó:ná 'they replied'	yá-pê:lê 'they flew'
yá-tútúmai 'they shivered'	yá-têlêlêi 'they wandered about'

This is a significant classification in that the tonal contrast between the two classes can produce minimal pairs, as the following Aorist verb-forms show:

yá-kói 'they washed/advised'	yá-kòi 'they ground'
yá-kpá: 'they stuck to'	yá-kpà: 'they beat (a drum)'
yá-pán 'they went back home'	yá-pàn 'they touched'
yá-téi 'they danced'	yá-tèi 'they described'
yá-témê 'they pushed'	yá-tàmè 'they set alight'
yá-kpálí 'they folded'	yá-kpâlî 'they gathered'
yá-témí 'they beat hard'	yá-tàmî 'they sewed'

Furthermore, high-tone and low-tone verb-stems select different prefix tones in negative clauses, e.g.

wé yá:-kói	wé yǎ:-kòi
'They did not wash/warn him'	'They did not crush him'
ké kâ: yâ:-pán ñjèná	ké kâ: yǎ:-pàn ñjèná
'They have not moved in yet'	'They have not yet touched it'

4.1121 Verb-Stem Subclasses

Each primary class of verbs may be further divided into thirteen subclasses. This subclassification is based on the paradigmatic similarity that characterizes the three verbal 'bases' from which simple verb-forms may be derived, i.e. the Imperative, Aorist and Continuative verb-forms. These subclasses are presented below in a tabular form.

High-Tone Verbs

Low-Tone Verbs

	Imperative	Aorist	Continuative	Imperative	Aorist	Continuative
A1	tó(10bɛ) 'weep' kpé(bõŋ) 'learn'	yá-tó:	yá-tóɪ	B1 fò:(11bɛ:) 'knock' mlè:(11bɛ) 'enter'	yá-fò:	yá-fòɪ
	bé(10bɛ) 'die' jɪ(bõŋ) 'eat'	yá-bé:	yá-béɪ	bè:(bõŋ) 'cut' sĩ:(bõŋ) 'refuse'	yá-bè:	yá-bèɪ
ALx	blá:(11bɛ:) 'come from'	yá-blá:	yá-bláɪ	Blx tǒ:(éyɛnt) 'fall'	yá-tǒ:	yá-tǒtǒwàɪ
A2a	bó:(yèjɔ) 'tie' sé:(kɛtɪ) 'fell' kó:(ɔnɛn) 'advise'	yá-bóɪ yá-séɪ yá-kóɪ	yá-bó:yɪ yá-sé:yɪ yá-kó:yɪ	B2a tǒ:(yèjɔ) 'dig up' yǎ:(bõŋ) 'tear' kǒ:(bõŋ) 'grind'	yá-tǒɪ yá-yǎɪ yá-kǒɪ	yá-tǒ:yɪ yá-yǎ:yɪ yá-kǒ:yɪ
A2ax	yá:(11bɛ:) 'be at' dǎ:(bõŋ) 'be sthg'	yá-yáu yá-dǎ	yá-yá:wáɪ yá-dǎ:méɪ			
A2b	bé:(mǎ:) 'stand' pé:(bõŋ) 'find' wú:(kɛtɪ) 'be full'	yá-bé:yɪ yá-pé:yɪ yá-wú:yɪ	ya-bébénɪ yá-pépéyɛɪ yá-wúwúwéɪ	B2b kpè:(bõŋ) 'sell' yǒ:(ékɛtɪ) 'weave' tè:(ɔnɛn) 'leave alone'	yá-kpè:yǎ yá-yǒ:yɪ yá-tè:yɪ	yá-kpèɪ yá-yǒɪ yá-tèɪ

High-Tone Verbs

Low-Tone Verbs

	Imperative	Aorist	Continuative		Imperative	Aorist	Continuative
A3	dâu(lɛ̃gə) 'laugh'	yá-dái	yá-dú:yí	B3	lâu(bǒŋ) 'rub off'	yá-lái	yá-lù:yì
	plâu(bǒŋ) 'buttress'	yá-plái	yá-plú:yí		yəu:(bǒŋ) 'sharpen'	yá-yèi	yá-yù:yì
	bǒu(biǒŋ) 'pick up'	yá-bǒi	yá-bú:yí		kǒu(1hó:) 'go'	yá-kò-i	yá-kù:yì
A3x	plâu(bǒŋ) 'ask'	yá-plái	yá-bi1:mái	B3x	jǐu(bǒŋ) 'say'	yá-jèi	yá-jì:yì
	wǎu(ɛ̃pál) 'run away'	yá-wái	yá-wú:mái				
A4a	kǒi(bǒŋ) 'wash'	yá-kói	yá-kókwéi	B4a	fǎi(1ipé:lá) 'weed'	yá-fài	yá-fǎfǎwài
	fǎi(kékòl) 'shut up'	yá-fái	yá-fǎfǎwài				
38	wǎi(létú) 'comb'	yá-wái	yá-wǎwǎwài				
39							
A4b	kǒi(lǒwí) 'draw'	yá-kǒbi	yá-kǒwǎi	B4b	tǒi(kéjén) 'dig up'	yá-tòki	yá-tòwài
	fǎi(biǒŋ) 'rinse'	yá-fǎki	yá-fǎwǎi		pǎi(bǒŋ) 'break'	yá-pǎki	yá-pǎwài
	túi(ɛ̃tén) 'frighten off'	yá-túki	yá-túwéi		wǒi(1ítípò:) 'scatter'	yá-wòki	yá-wòwéi
	gǎi(bǒŋ) 'lift up'	yá-gǎbi	yá-gǎwǎi		gǎi(kǒgǎbi) 'draw'	yá-gǎbi	yá-gǎwài

High-Tone Verbs				Low-Tone Verbs			
Imperative		Aorist	Continuative	Imperative		Aorist	Continuative
A5a	kpál(bǒŋ) 'fold' fál(bǒŋ) 'rumple'	yá-kpálɪ yá-fálɪ	yá-kpú:ɪɪ yá-fú:ɪɪ	B5a	tál(bǒŋ) 'pull' səl(ɪmæn) 'put aside'	yá-tálɪ yá-səlɪ	yá-tù:ɪɪ yá-sù:ɪɪ
A5ax	kpəl(intɹ.) 'be tall' wól(ɲbɔ́:) 'clap'	yá-kpəlɪ yá-wólɪ	yá-kpú:ɪɪ yá-wólɔ́ɪ		pəl(ɛ́tɛ́n) 'share'	yá-pəlɪ	yá-pù:ɪɪ
A5b	wál(èkón) 'shine' pál(ból) 'kick high' tál(èjéu) 'join'	yá-wálɪ yá-pálɪ yá-tálɪ	yá-wá:ɪɪ yá-pá:ɪɪ yá-tá:ɪɪ	B5b	yél(ɲwéné) 'read' kál(ɪítún) 'listen'	yá-yélɪ yá-kálɪ	yá-yè:ɪɪ yá-kà:ɪɪ
A5bx	dál(intɹ.) 'be tasty'	yá-dál:ɪɪ	yá-dádáɪɪ	B5bx	píl(bǒŋ) 'snap'	yá-pì:ɪɪ	yá-pìpìyèɪ
A6a	tóm(ɔ́nɛ́n) 'send' póm(ɪ́lbɔ́:) 'go early' kón(bǒŋ) 'plant'	yá-tómɪ yá-pómɪ yá-kónɪ	yá-tó:ɪɪ yá-pó:ɪɪ yá-kó:ɪɪ	B6a	kám(ɔ́nɛ́n) 'help' bém(bǒŋ) 'beg' tón(bǒŋ) 'give out'	yá-kámɪ yá-bémɪ yá-tónɪ	yá-kámù yá-bè:ɪɪ yá-tò:ɪɪ
A6ax	kǎŋ(bǒŋ) 'fry' yín(bǒŋ) 'tell' nɛŋ(bǒŋ) 'do'	yá-kǎŋɪ yá-yínɪ yá-néɪ	yá-ká:ɪɪ yá-yínɪ yá-né:ɪɪ	B6ax	fɔŋ(bǒŋ) 'write' nán(bǒŋ) 'receive' wún(ɔ́nɛ́n) 'send away'	yá-fɔŋɪ yá-ná:ɪɪ yá-wúnɪ	yá-fɔ:ɪɪ yá-náɪ yá-wù:ɪɪ

High-Tone Verbs

Imperative

A6b	jěm(intr.) 'go off'	yǎ-jěmí	yǎ-jú:mí	B6b	təm(bõŋ) 'stitch'	yǎ-təmí	yǎ-tù:mí
	təm(lõtəmè) 'beat'	yǎ-təmí	yǎ-tù:mí		dəm(ǎdən) 'be big'	yǎ-dəmí	yǎ-dù:mí
A6bx	dəm(ɔ̃nɛn) 'bite'	yǎ-dəmí	yǎ-dǎnɛi		səm(bõŋ) 'twist'	yǎ-səmí	yǎ-sù:mí
	kəm(ɔ̃nɛn) 'piece'	yǎ-kəmí	yǎ-kǎnɛi		pən(ɬemǎ) 'close'	yǎ-pəní	yǎ-pù:ní
A7	túmí(bõŋ) 'dot'	yǎ-túmí	yǎ-tǔmǎi	B7	yəmí(bõŋ) 'whisper'	yǎ-yəmí	yǎ-yəmɛi
	jəmí(èkón) 'quench'	yǎ-jəmí	yǎ-jǎnɛi		dəlí(bõŋ) 'take'	yǎ-dəlí	yǎ-dəlɛi
	yéní(bõŋ) 'have'	yǎ-yéní	yǎ-yénɛi		wəlí(bõŋ) 'untie'	yǎ-wəlí	yǎ-wəlɛi
	bálí(bõŋ) 'cut'	yǎ-bálí	yǎ-bǎlǎi				
A7x	kpákí(intr.) 'be scarce'	yǎ-kpákí	yǎ-kpákɔ̃wǎi	B7x	kəbí(bõŋ) 'spoil'	yǎ-kəbí	yǎ-kəkəwɛi
A8	sídá(ètɔ) 'sweep'	yǎ-sídá	yǎ-sídǎi	B8	jòdǎ(intr.) 'slip'	yǎ-jòdǎ	yǎ-jòdǎi
	wúkə(kòpó:) 'fill up'	yǎ-wúkə	yǎ-wúkɛi		fúkə(bõŋ) 'count'	yǎ-fúkə	yǎ-fúkɛi
	yóká(ɬújɪ) 'warm'	yǎ-yóká	yǎ-yókǎi		tòŋǎ(bõŋ) 'speak'	yǎ-tòŋǎ	yǎ-tòŋǎi
A8x	dǔwǎ(yídé) 'sleep'	yǎ-dǔ:	yǎ-dǔ:wǎi	B8x	nəǎǎ(intr) 'sit'	yǎ-nəǎ	yǎ-nəǎmí
					nəǎǎ(ɬújɪ) 'cook'	yǎ-nəǎ	yǎ-nò:ní
					pǎǎǎ(bõŋ) 'touch'	yǎ-pǎǎ	yǎ-pǎǎǎi
					sɛŋǎ(kòsɛŋǎ) 'walk'	yǎ-sɛŋ	yǎ-sɛŋɪ

High-Tone Verbs

Imperative

A9	kó:11(intr.) 'be ripe'	yá-kó:11	yá-kókó1sɿ	B9	tò:11(bõŋ) 'follow'	yá-tò:11	yá-tòtò1sɿ
	ká:11(kòyũ:) 'stop'	yá-ká:11	yá-káká1sɿ		jâ:11(intr.) 'get thin'	yá-jâ:11	yá-jâjâ1sɿ
					pè:11(bõŋ) 'borrow'	yá-pè:11	yá-pèpè1sɿ
A10	bó:1s(èkón) 'make fire'	yá-bó:1s	yá-bó:1sɿ	B10	yì:mé(ònhèn) 'remind'	yá-yì:mé	yá-yì:mèi
	pó:ná(bõŋ) 'answer'	yá-pó:ná	yá-pó:náɿ		nì:ná(bõŋ) 'iron'	yá-nì:ná	yá-nì:náɿ
A11	kónnɿ(ònhèn) 'be hated'	yá-kónnɿ	yá-kókónáɿ	B11	támɿ(intr.) 'get ripe'	yá-támɿ	yá-tâtámáɿ
	kóŋɿ(intr.) 'be eery'	ó-kóŋɿ	ó-kókóŋsɿ				
A12	kámmé(ònhèn) 'flog'	yá-kámmé	yá-kámméɿ	B12	pèmmé(11kó1) 'go round'	yá-pèmmé	yá-pèmméi
	tínná(bõŋ) 'shift'	yá-tínná	yá-tínnáɿ		pènné(bõŋ) 'change'	yá-pènné	yá-pènnéi
					tòŋɿ(bõŋ) 'tie'	yá-tòŋɿ	yá-tòŋɿéi
A13	bláŋáɿ (ònhèn) 'deceive'	yá-bláŋáɿ	yá-bláŋáɿ	B13	wòmáɿ(intr.) 'shout'	yá-wòmáɿ	yá-wòmáɿ
	tútúmáɿ(intr.) 'shiver'	yá-tútúmáɿ	yá-tútúmáɿ		tètè1sɿ(intr.) 'go here and there'	yá-tètè1sɿ	yá-tètè1sɿ

In the table, the verbs are arranged in order from the simplest phonemic structures of the imperative verb-form to the more complex ones. The capital letters A and B stand for high-tone and low-tone verb-stems respectively, and the numerals for the various subclasses. Since many of these subclasses are not homogeneous in the formation of their Aorist and Continuative verb-forms, small letters have been used to represent further divisions of the subclasses, the letter x being used for a verb or group of verbs considered as irregular.

Of all the subclasses, A1 has by far the largest membership. Some subclasses, on the other hand, have very few members, e.g. 9 and 11; in fact, A9 would appear to have no more than two members, and B11 one single member. Subclasses 9-13 are more homogeneous than preceding subclasses, but their membership is also generally smaller. Members of subclass 13 normally have a continuative semantic connotation: their verb-stems are marked by the characteristically continuative -ai or -ei verb-stem ending.

4.12 Compound Verbs

The compound verb, as earlier indicated, consists of at least two verbal words, a main verb immediately preceded by one or more auxiliaries. The verbal words are, however, considered as a compound unit because of the strong segmental and suprasegmental bonds binding them together.

The morphemic structure of a compound verb consisting of an auxiliary and a main verb may be formulated in four different ways:

(a) + Auxiliary Stem + Main Verb-Stem

- (b) + Auxiliary Stem + Main Verb Prefix + Main Verb-Stem
- (c) + Auxiliary Prefix + Auxiliary Stem + Main Verb-Stem
- (d) + Aux. Prefix + Aux. Stem + Main Verb Prefix + Main Verb-Stem

A compound verb with the structure (a) occurs only in relative clauses in which the nominal phrase subject is realized by a self-standing personal pronoun and the complement of the main clause occurs sentence-initially, e.g.

yàtù bɔ́ á:bà bì wá: bǎ: mǔŋ ɲ̩
 SSP AVS MVS
 {
 compound verb
 {
 relative clause

palm-wine which you may drink you give-to-drink me

'Whatever palm-wine you are drinking, give (some) to me'

bǒŋ wé á:mòŋ bì né:yí tɛ yókò:mè
 SSP AVS MVS
 {
 Compound verb
 {
 relative clause

think which we may do let we-stop

'Whatever we are doing, let us stop'

A compound verb with the structure (b) occurs only when the compound verb-form is imperative, e.g.

tùm à-fí:lè
 AVS Px MVS
 {
 Compound verb

Very you-jump

'Don't jump too much'

kání à-wá lòwí

AVS Px MVS

compound verb

at-once you-drink water

'Drink the water at once'

A compound verb with the structure (c) occurs occasionally when the auxiliary is either -bì or -fí, e.g.

ó-bì né:yí bôn mà:

Px AVS MVS

compound verb

he-can is-doing what here

'What is he doing?'

ó-fí kǒi kèblá:...

Px AVS MVS

compound verb

if-he-should go farm

'If he went to the farm...'

And the compound verb structure (d), the commonest of the four structures, occurs in many types of clause structure, e.g.

yànèn bímà: yá-tùm yá-jí bôn

Px AVS Px MVS

compound verb

people those they-very they-eat thing

'Those people eat too much'

yàsèn yámòn yá:-yéní yá-yè: mà:...

Px. AVS Px MVS

compound verb.

visitors our if-they-again they-come here

'If our visitors come again...'

4.121 The Main Verb

The main verb occurs as the final constituent word in a compound verb. It is always an open class word, and therefore shares many common characteristics with the simple verb. It is however distinguished from the simple verb in that it is only part of a compound verbal structure. Examples of the shape and tone pattern of main verbs are given in Tables C and D below.

4.122 The Auxiliary Verb

Auxiliaries belong to a closed word class. They consist of about thirteen members, which are distinguished from main verbs in two respects: shape and meaning.

With regard to shape, auxiliary verb-stems are invariable. And with regard to meaning, it may be said that they derive their specific meaning from the main verb with which they occur in any given context, e.g.

ɔ̀bàsè ɔ̀tũm ɔ̀tə:

subject Aux. M. Verb

rain it-very it-fell

'It rained heavily'

wě̃n fĩm̃: ótũm òtúkè épál
subject Aux. M. Verb Complement
child the he-very he-runs running
'The boy runs very fast'

The prefix of the auxiliary behaves in exactly the same way as that of a simple verb, i.e. the auxiliary prefix takes the same segmental and suprasegmental forms as a simple verb prefix when an identical mood or aspect is required to be expressed. For instance, in the following two sentences, the initial clauses (underlined) are conditional, and this fact is expressed by a high-low prefix tone marking, in the first example, the prefix of the simple verb kǒu 'go' and, in the second example, the prefix of the auxiliary verb -yéńf 'again':

yā:-kǒi lǒwí, bǎ: yĩn ñ
simple verb Compl.
'If you go to fetch water, do tell me'

yā:-yéńf yákði lǒwí, bǎ: yĩn ñ
Aux. Vb. main Vb. Compl.
'If you go to fetch water again, do tell me'

Auxiliary verb-stems, like simple or main verb-stems, are either inherently high-tone or low-tone, as listed below. The meaning here assigned to each auxiliary verb-stem is no more than an indication of its general lexical content, since, as earlier stated, the specific meaning in a given context of any auxiliary is derived from the accompanying main verb:

A: High-tone Auxiliary Verb-Stems B: Low-tone Auxiliary Verb-Stems

-fĩ 'should'	-bĩ 'almost'
-ńf 'whenever'	-bĩnè 'if'
-yéńf 'again'	-tĩ 'then'

-kǎní	'beforehand'	-tǔm	'very'
		-mǔn	'later'
		-dǔkě	'instead'
		-nǐnē	'before'
		-jěu	'used in negative constructions'
		-kpǐ	} 'even if'
		-kpǐntē	

The various forms and tone patterns of auxiliary verbs are illustrated in the tables of compound verbs below.

More Examples of Compound Verbs

The tables of compound verbs given below summarize the shapes and tone patterns of auxiliary and main verbs that may combine to form compound verbs. The following examples of compound verbs provide auxiliary and main verb segmental and suprasegmental combinations with their meanings, which may serve as a useful guide not only in translating the compound verbs given in the tables, but also in constructing other compound verbs not given in the tables:

- mǎí ńkǒu kèlbê: 'I should go to the farm'
- ńńí kǎi kèblê:... 'Whenever I go to the farm...'
- ńyéní ńkǒu kèblê: 'I went to the farm again'
- ńkǎní ńkǒu kèblê: 'I went to the farm very early'
- mǐbì ńkǒu kèblê: 'I almost went to the farm'
- m̃:bí kèblê: ń:kǎi..'If I don't go to the farm...'
- m̃bìnè ńkǒu kèblê:? 'Shall I or shall I not go to the farm?'
- ńtì ńkǒu kèblê: 'I took the opportunity to go to the farm'
- átum àkǒu kèblê: 'You go to the farm too often'
- kèblê: ǎ:mùn ákǒu 'You won't go to the farm any more'

ńdùkè ñkòu kèblô:	'I went to the farm instead'
ńńńń ñkòu ké kèblô:	'I had gone to the farm before'
tè ńjèu kèblô: ñ:kòì ótũm òbúwè	'It is very wrong of me not to go to the farm'
tè ájèu yàtù à:wá: ótũm òbúwè	'It is very wrong of you not to drink wine'
òbàsè ókpì ótè:, yè: dā:	} 'Even if it rains, come'
òbàsè ókpìntè òtè:, yè: dā:	
ńfí bì ñ:kòì...	'If I had not gone...'
ńfí mbi: ñkòu	'I should like to go later'

4.13 VERB-FORMS

The following sequence of four tables represent the major verb-forms in Lòkèè. Table A represents positive simple verb-forms, and Table B negative simple verb-forms (except that simple verb-forms do not occur in negative conditional and relative clauses, hence the compound verb-forms under the conditional and relative clause columns). Table C illustrates positive compound verb-forms, and Table D negative compound verb-forms. Each table shows first high-tone, and then low-tone verb-forms arranged strictly in the following order of headings, as it were from left to right: Imperative/Meaning, Aorist, Continuative, Perfective, Neutral Type I, Neutral Type II, Conditional, Relative Clause Type I and Relative Clause Type II. This means, for instance, that Table A₂ is conceived of as continuing Table A₁ horizontally, while Table A₃ continues Table A₁ vertically and is continued horizontally by Table A₄. This is why Tables A₁ and A₂ are numbered 1 - 14, and Tables A₃ and A₄ 15 - 28. Tables B, C and D are similarly arranged.

The ya- verbal prefix of the verb-forms given in the tables, except the one under the Neutral Type II heading, is the non-pronominal

one; the ya- verbal prefix given in the Neutral Type II verb-forms is pronominal (cf. section 4.111). The ya- non-pronominal verbal prefix is translatable by either 'they' or 'it' as appropriate, while the ya- pronominal verbal prefix is translatable by 'you' (plu.). Thus, for instance, the Aorist verb-form of the first verb in Table A₁, i.e. yá-tó:, is translatable by 'they wept', and the Neutral Type II verb-forms of the same verb, i.e. yâ-tó and yâ-tôî are translatable by 'you wept' and 'you were weeping' respectively. The important point to note here is that verb-forms with the non-pronominal verbal prefix ya- are never marked by the tone pattern shown under the Neutral Type II. In fact, the only verb-forms with a non-pronominal verbal prefix that may occur with the Neutral Type II tone pattern are those governed by a nominal class 1 noun, as in the following sentence (Neutral Type II tone pattern underlined):

yàněń ímà: ótò:, ò-tó lòbés
 woman the she-fell, she wept
 'The woman fell and wept'.

All verb-forms occurring with a non-pronominal prefix (except when the non-pronominal verbal prefix is o-) always take the Neutral Type I tone pattern, but verb-forms occurring with a pronominal verbal prefix (cf. section 4.111) or with the non-pronominal prefix o- may take either the Neutral Type I or Type II tone pattern as appropriate, e.g. (pronominal verbal prefixes underlined):

nè ń-tó lòbés 'I shall weep'
ń -tò:, ń-tó lòbés 'I fell and wept'

(Neutral Type I and Type II verb-forms are further discussed below, under sections 4.1315, 4.13151 and 4.13152).

TABLE A₁ : SIMPLE VERB-FORMS.

POSITIVE									
IMPERATIVE/Meaning		AORIST	CONTINUATIVE PERFECTIVE		NEUTRAL TYPE I		NEUTRAL TYPE II		
HIGH-TONE					NON-CONT.	-CONTIN.	NON-CONT.	CONTIN.	
1	tó(10bɛ) 'weep'	yá-tó:	yá-tói	yá-tò kɛ	yá-tó	yá-tói	yá-tó	yá-tói	
2	sé: (kɛtɪ) 'fell'	yá-séi	yá-sé:yí	yá-sé: kɛ	yá-sé:	yá-sé:yí	yá-sé:	yá-sé:yí	
3	dáu(1ɛgá) 'laugh'	yá-dái	yá-dú:yí	yá-dàŋ kɛ	yá-dáu	yá-dú:yí	yá-dáu	yá-dú:yí	
4	fáɪ(biǒŋ) 'rinse'	yá-fáɪ	yá-fáwáɪ	yá-fáɪ kɛ	yá-fáɪ	yá-fáwáɪ	yá-fáɪ	yá-fáwáɪ	
5	bé:(mâ:) 'stand'	yá-bé:yí	yá-bébɛnɛi	yá-bé: kɛ	yá-bé:	yá-bébɛnɛi	yá-bé:	yá-bébɛnɛi	
6	kói(biǒŋ) 'wash'	yá-kói	yá-kókòwɛi	yá-kói kɛ	yá-kói	yá-kókòwɛi	yá-kói	yá-kókòwɛi	
7	kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́(biǒŋ) 'fold'	yá-kɔ́ɔ́ɪ	yá-kɔ́ɔ́: 1í	yá-kɔ́ɔ́ kɛ	yá-kɔ́ɔ́	yá-kɔ́ɔ́: 1ì	yá-kɔ́ɔ́	yá-kɔ́ɔ́: 1ì	
8	nɛŋ(bɔŋ) 'do'	yá-néi	yá-né:yí	yá-nɛŋ kɛ	yá-nɛŋ	yá-né:yí	yá-nɛŋ	yá-né:yí	
9	tóm(ɔ̀nɛn) 'send'	yá-tóm	yá-tó:mí	yá-tóm kɛ	yá-tóm	yá-tó:mí	yá-tóm	yá-tó:mí	
10	yín(bɔŋ) 'tell'	yá-yín	yá-yín	yá-yín kɛ	yá-yín	yá-yín	yá-yín	yá-yín	
11	jámí(ɛkón) 'quench'	yá-jémí	yá-jémɛi	yá-jémù kɛ	yá-jémí	yá-jémɛi	yá-jémí	yá-jémɛi	
12	pó:ná(bɔŋ) 'reply'	yá-pó:ná	yá-pó:náɪ	yá-pó:ná kɛ	yá-pó:ná	yá-pó:náɪ	yá-pó:ná	yá-pó:náɪ	
13	bláŋɛi(ɔ̀nɛn) 'deceive'	yá-bláŋɛi	ke yá-bláŋɛi kɛ	yá-bláŋɛi kɛ	yá-bláŋɛi	yá-bláŋɛi	yá-bláŋɛi	yá-bláŋɛi	
14	tútúmáɪ(intɾ) 'shiver'	yá-tútúmáɪ	yá-tútúmáɪ kɛ	yá-tútúmáɪ kɛ	yá-tútúmáɪ	yá-tútúmáɪ	yá-tútúmáɪ	yá-tútúmáɪ	

TABLE A₂ : SIMPLE VERB-FORMS (with some compound verb-forms).

CONDITIONAL

	NON-PAST	PAST				REL. CL. TYPE I				REL. CL. TYPE II			
		NON-NUCLEAR CL.											
		NON-CONT.		CONTIN.		NON-CONT.		CONT.		NON-CONT.		CONTIN.	
	AUX.	NON-CONT.	CONTIN.	NON-CONT.	CONT.	NON-CONT.	CONTIN.	NON-CONT.	CONTIN.	NON-CONT.	CONTIN.	NON-CONT.	CONTIN.
1.	yâ:-tó:	yáfi tò:	tói	yâ-tó (ké)	yâ-tói	yâ:-tó:	yâ:-tó:	yâ-tó:	yâ-tói	yâ-tó:	yâ-tói	yâ-tó:	yâ-tói
2	yâ:-séi	yáfi séi	sé:yí	yâ-sé:	yâ-sé:yí	yâ:-séi	yâ:-séi	yâ-séi	yâ-sé:yí	yâ-séi	yâ-séi	yâ-sé:	yá:-sé:yí
3	yâ:-dái	yáfi dái	dú:yí	yâ-dáu	yâ-dú:yí	yâ:-dái	yâ:-dái	yâ-dái	yâ-dú:yí	yâ-dái	yâ-dái	yâ-dú:	yá:-dú:yí
4	yâ:-fákí	yáfi fákí	fàwài	yâ-fêi	yâ-fàwài	yâ:-fákí	yâ:-fákí	yâ-fákí	yâ-fàwài	yâ-fákí	yâ-fákí	yâ-fàwài	yâ-fàwài
5	yâ:-bé:yí	yáfi bè:yí	bébènéi	yâ-bé:	yâ-bébènéi	yâ:-bé:yí	yâ:-bébéniyâ-bé:yí	yâ-bébènéi	yâ-bé:	yâ-bé:	yâ-bé:	yâ-bébéni	yâ-bébéni
6	yâ:-kói	yáfi kói	kòkòwài	yâ-kói	yâ-kókòwài	yâ:-kói	yâ:-kókòwàiyâ-kói	yâ-kókòwài	yâ-kói	yâ-kói	yâ-kói	yâ-kókòwài	yâ-kókòwài
7	yâ:-kpálí	yáfi kpálí	kpú:lí	yâ-kpálí	yâ-kpú:lí	yâ:-kpálí	yâ:-kpú:lí yâ-kpálí	yâ-kpú:lí	yâ-kpálí	yâ-kpálí	yâ-kpálí	yâ-kpú:lí	yâ-kpú:lí
8	yâ:-néi	yáfi nêi	nè:yí	yâ-nêy	yâ-né:yí	yâ:-néi	yâ:-né:yí yâ-néi	yâ-né:yí	yâ-nêy	yâ-né:	yâ-né:	yâ-né:yí	yâ-né:yí
9	yâ:-tómí	yáfi tòmí	tò:mí	yâ-tóm	yâ-tò:mí	yâ:-tómí	yâ:-tò:mí yâ-tómí	yâ-tò:mí	yâ-tómí	yâ-tó:	yâ-tó:	yâ-tó:mí	yâ-tó:mí
10	yâ:-yíní	yáfi yíní	yìmní	yâ-yín	yâ-yímní	yâ:-yíní	yâ:-yímní yâ-yíní	yâ-yímní	yâ-yíní	yâ:-yíní	yâ:-yíní	yâ-yímní	yâ-yímní
11	yâ:-jémí	yáfi jèmí	jèmèi	yâ-jémí	yâ-jémèi	yâ:-jémí	yâ:-jémèi yâ-jémí	yâ-jémèi	yâ-jémí	yâ:-jémí	yâ:-jémí	yâ-jémí	yâ-jémí
12	yâ:-pó:ná	yáfi pò:ná	pò:naí	yâ-pó:ná	yâ-pò:nái	yâ:-pó:ná	yâ:-pò:nái yâ-pó:ná	yâ-pò:ná	yâ-pó:ná	yâ:-pó:ná	yâ:-pó:ná	yâ-pó:ná	yâ-pó:ná
13	yâ:-blánáí	yáfi blánáí	blánáí	yâ-blánáí	yâ-blánáí	yâ:-blánáí	yâ:-blánáí yâ-blánáí	yâ-blánáí	yâ-blánáí	yâ:-blánáí	yâ:-blánáí	yâ-blánáí	yâ-blánáí
14	yâ:-tútúmèi	yáfi tútúmèi	tútúmèi	yâ-tútúmèi	yâ-tútúmèi	yâ:-tútúmèi	yâ:-tútúmèiyâ-tútúmèi	yâ-tútúmèi	yâ-tútúmèi	yâ:-tútúmèi	yâ:-tútúmèi	yâ-tútúmèi	yâ-tútúmèi

TABLE A₃ : SIMPLE VERB-FORMS

LOW-TONE

IMPERATIVE/Meaning	AORIST	CONTINUATIVE	PERFECTIVE	NEUTRAL TYPE I	NEUTRAL TYPE II
				NON-CONT.	CONTIN.
15 dē: (ɔ̃nɛn) 'greet'	yá-dē:	yá-dēi	yá-dē ké	yá-dē	yá-dēi
16 yē: (mā:) 'arrive'	yá-yē:	yá-yēi	yá-yē: ké	yá-yē:	yá-yēi
17 kō: (bōŋ) 'grind'	yá-kōi	yá-kō:yɪ	yá-kō: ké	yá-kō:	yá-kō:yɪ
18 fǎi (lǐpé:lǎ) 'weed'	yá-fǎi	yá-fǎfǎwǎi	yá-fǎi ké	yá-fǎi	yá-fǎfǎwǎi
19 lǎu (bōŋ) 'rub off'	yá-lǎi	yá-lǎ:yɪ	yá-lǎu ké	yá-lǎu	yá-lǎ:yɪ
20 yǎu (kékəŋ) 'sharpen'	yá-yǎi	yá-yǎ:yɪ	yá-yǎu ké	yá-yǎu	yá-yǎu:yɪ
21 kpǎl (blǒŋ) 'gather'	yá-kpǎlɪ	yá-kpǎ:lɪ	yá-kpǎl ké	yá-kpǎl	yá-kpǎ:lɪ
22 kǎm (ɔ̃nɛn) 'help'	yá-kǎmɪ	yá-kǎ:mɪ	yá-kǎm ké	yá-kǎm	yá-kǎ:mɪ
23 wǔŋ (ɔ̃nɛn) 'send away'	yá-wǔŋɪ	yá-wǔŋɪ	yá-wǔŋ ké	yá-wǔŋ	yá-wǔŋɪ
24 nǔnǎ (lǐjɪ) 'cook'	yá-nǔn	yá-nǔ:nɪ	yá-nǔnǎ ké	yá-nǔnǎ	yá-nǔ:nɪ
25 kǎbɪ (bōŋ) 'spoil'	yá-kǎbɪ	yá-kǎkǎwǎi	yá-kǎbɪ ké	yá-kǎbɪ	yá-kǎkǎwǎi
26 kǔ:wé (lǎnǎ) 'open'	yá-kǔ:wé	yá-kǔ:wǎi	yá-kǔ:wé ké	yá-kǔ:wé	yá-kǔ:wǎi
27 wǔmǎi (intr.) 'shout'	yá-wǔmǎi	yá-wǔmǎi	yá-wǔmǎi ké	yá-wǔmǎi	yá-wǔmǎi
28 tǎtǎlǎi (intr.) 'go here and there'	yá-tǎtǎlǎi	yá-tǎtǎlǎi	yá-tǎtǎlǎi ké	yá-tǎtǎlǎi	yá-tǎtǎlǎi

TABLE A₄ : SIMPLE VERB-FORMS (with some compound verb-forms).

CONDITIONAL									
NON-PAST	PAST				REL. CL. TYPE I				REL. CL. TYPE II
	NON-NUCLEAR CL.		NUCLEAR CLAUSE						
	AUX.	NON-CONT.	CONTIN.	NON-CONT.	CONT.	NON-CONT.	CONTIN.	NON-CONT.	CONTIN.
15	yâ:-dê:	yâfi dê:	dêi	yâ-dê:(ké)	yâ-dêi	yâ:-dê:	yâ:-dêi	yâ-dê:	yâ-dêi
16	yâ:-yê:	yâfi yê:	yêi	yâ-yê:	yâ-yêi	yâ:-yê:	yâ:-yêi	yâ-yê:	yâ-yêi
17	yâ:-kôî	yâfi kôî	kô:yí	yâ-kô:	yâ-kô:yí	yâ:-kôî	yâ:-kô:yí	yâ-kôî	yâ-kô:yí
18	yâ:-fâi	yâfi fâi	fâfâwâi	yâ-fâi	yâ-fâfâwâi	yâ:-fâi	yâ:-fâfâwâi	yâ-fâi	yâ-fâfâwâi
19	yâ:-lâi	yâfi lâi	lû:yí	yâ-lâi	yâ-lû:yí	yâ:-lâi	yâ:-lû:yí	yâ-lâi	yâ-lû:yí
20	yâ:-yêi	yâfi yêi	yû:yí	yâ-yêu	yâ-yû:yí	yâ:-yêi	yâ:-yû:yí	yâ-yêi	yâ-yû:yí
21	yâ:-kpâlí	yâfi kpâlí	kpâ:lí	yâ-kpâl	yâ-kpâ:lí	yâ:-kpâlí	yâ:-kpâ:lí	yâ-kpâlí	yâ-kpâ:lí
22	yâ:-kâmí	yâfi kâmí	kâ:mí	yâ-kâm	yâ-kâ:mí	yâ:-kâmí	yâ:-kâ:mí	yâ-kâmí	yâ-kâ:mí
23	yâ:-wùŋí	yâfi wùŋí	wùŋí	yâ-wùŋ	yâ-wùŋí	yâ:-wùŋí	yâ:-wùŋí	yâ-wùŋí	yâ-wùŋí
24	yâ:-nòn	yâfi nòn	nò:ní	yâ-nóná	yâ-nò:ní	yâ:-nòn	yâ:-nò:ní	yâ-nòn	yâ-nò:ní
25	yâ:-kòbí	yâfi kòbí	kèkèwêi	yâ-kòbí	yâ-kèkèwêi	yâ:-kòbí	yâ:-kèkèwêi	yâ-kòbí	yâ-kèkèwêi
26	yâ:-kù:wé	yâfi kù:wé	kù:wéi	yâ-kù:wé	yâ-kù:wéi	yâ:-kù:wé	yâ:-kù:wé	yâ-kù:wé	yâ-kù:wéi
27	yâ:-wòmáí	yâfi wòmáí	wòmáí	yâ-wòmáí	yâ-wòmáí	yâ:-wòmáí	yâ:-wòmáí	yâ-wòmáí	yâ-wòmáí
28	yâ:-tètéléi	yâfi tètéléi	tètéléi	yâ-tètéléi	yâ-tètéléi	yâ:-tètéléi	yâ:-tètéléi	yâ-tètéléi	yâ-tètéléi

TABLE B₁ : SIMPLE VERB-FORMS.

NEGATIVE			
IMPERATIVE/Meaning		AORIST (without ké). PERFECTIVE (with ké)	CONTINUATIVE
HIGH-TONE			
1	(lòbè) kǎ tò 'don't cry'	(ké lòbè) yà:-tó:	(lòbè) yà:-tóí
2	(kètí) kǎ sè: 'don't fell'	(ké kètí) yà:-séi	(kètí) yà:-sé:yí
3	(lègà) kǎ dǎu 'don't laugh'	yà:-dǎi	yà:-dú:yí
4	(blǒŋ) kǎ fǎi 'don't rinse'	yà:-fǎkí	yà:-fǎwǎi
5	(mǎ:) kǎ bè: 'don't stand'	yà:-bé:yí	yà:-béwénéi
6	(blǒŋ) kǎ kǒi 'don't wash'	yà:-kǒi	yà:-kókówǎi
7	(blǒŋ) kǎ kpǎl 'don't fold'	yà:-kpǎlǐ	yà:-kpú:1í
8	(bǒŋ) kǎ nǝŋ 'don't do'	yà:-néi	yà:-né:yí
9	(ɛ̀nɛ̀n) kǎ tòm 'don't send'	yà:-tómí	yà:-tó: mí
10	(bǒŋ) kǎ yín 'don't tell'	yà:-yíní	yà:-yí: mí
11	(ǝkón) kǎ jǝmí 'don't quench'	yà:-jǝmí	yà:-jǝwǎi
12	(bǒŋ) kǎ pò:nǎ 'don't reply'	yà:-pó:nǎ	yà:-pó: náí
13	(ɛ̀nɛ̀n) kǎ blǎŋǎi 'don't deceive'	yà:-blǎŋǎi	yà:-blǎŋǎi
14	kǎ tútúmǎi 'don't shiver'	(ké) yà:-tútúmǎi	yà:-tútúmǎi

TABLE B₂ : SIMPLE VERB-FORMS.

	NEGATIVE			
	NEUTRAL TYPE I		NEUTRAL TYPE II	
	NON-CONTINUATIVE	CONTINUATIVE	NON-CONTINUATIVE	CONTINUATIVE
HIGH-TONE				
1	(lòbɛ́) yǎ:-tò	(lòbɛ́) yǎ:-tòì	(lòbɛ́) yǎ:-tò	(lòbɛ́) yǎ:-tòì
2	(kètí) yǎ:-sɛ:	(kètí) yǎ:-sɛ:yì	(kètí) yǎ:-sɛ:	(kètí) yǎ:-sɛ:yì
3	yǎ:-dǎu	yǎ:-dù:yì	yǎ:-dǎu	yǎ:-dù:yì
4	yǎ:-fǎi	yǎ:-fǎwǎi	yǎ:-fǎi	yǎ:-fǎwǎi
5	yǎ:-bɛ:	yǎ:-bɛbɛnɛi	yǎ:-bɛ:	yǎ:-bɛbɛnɛi
6	yǎ:-kòì	yǎ:-kòkòwɛi	yǎ:-kòì	yǎ:-kòkòwɛi
7	yǎ:-kpǎl	yǎ:-kpù:lì	yǎ:-kpǎl	yǎ:-kpù:lì
8	yǎ:-nɛŋ	yǎ:-nɛ:yì	yǎ:-nɛŋ	yǎ:-nɛ:yì
9	yǎ:-tòm	yǎ:-tò:mù	yǎ:-tòm	yǎ:-tò:mù
10	yǎ:-yìn	yǎ:-yìnmù	yǎ:-yìn	yǎ:-yìnmù
11	yǎ:-jɛmù	yǎ:-jɛmɛi	yǎ:-jɛmù	yǎ:-jɛmɛi
12	yǎ:-pò:nà	yǎ:-pò:nàì	yǎ:-pò:nà	yǎ:-pò:nàì
13	yǎ:-blǎŋǎi	yǎ:-blǎŋǎi	yǎ:-blǎŋǎi	yǎ:-blǎŋǎi
14	yǎ:-tùtùmǎi	yǎ:-tùtùmǎi	yǎ:-tùtùmǎi	yǎ:-tùtùmǎi

TABLE B₃ : NEGATIVE FORMS OF SIMPLE VERBS (which are compound verb-forms).

	NEGATIVE			
	CONDITIONAL	RELATIVE CLAUSE	MAIN VERB	
	NON-PAST AUX.	PAST AUX.	TYPE I AUX.	TYPE II AUX. NON-CONTINUATIVE CONTINUATIVE
	HIGH-TONE			
1	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yá:-bí	(lôbé) yâ:-tó: (lôbé) yâ:-tóí
2	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yâ:-bí	(kétí) yâ:-séí (kétí) yâ:-sé:yí
3	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yâ:-bí	yâ:-dái yâ:-dú:yí
4	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yâ:-bí	yâ:-fákí yâ:-fáwái
5	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yâ:-bí	yâ:-bé:yí yâ:-bébénéí
6	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yâ:-bí	yâ:-kói yâ:-kókówái
7	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yâ:-bí	yâ:-kpáíí yâ:-kpú:íí
8	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yâ:-bí	yâ:-néí yâ:-né:yí
9	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yâ:-bí	yâ:-tómí yâ:-tó:mí
10	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yâ:-bí	yâ:-yíní yâ:-yínmí
11	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yâ:-bí	yâ:-jémí yâ:-jéméí
12	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yâ:-bí	yâ:-pó:ná yâ:-pó:nái
13	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yâ:-bí	yâ:-bláǵái yâ:-bláǵái
14	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yâ:-bí	yâ:-tútúmái yâ:-tútúmái

TABLE B₄ : SIMPLE VERB-FORMS.

NEGATIVE			
IMPERATIVE/Meaning		AORIST (wíthout ké) PERFECTIVE (wíth ké)	CONTINUATIVE
LOW-TONE			
15	(ònéñ) ká dè 'don't greet'	(ké ònéñ) yă:-dê:	(ònéñ) yă:-dêi
16	(má:) ká yè: 'don't arrive'	yă:-yè:	yă:-yèi
17	(bòŋ) ká kò: 'don't grind'	yă:-kòì	yă:-kò:yì
18	(lîpé:lá) ká fâi 'don't weed'	yă:-fâi	yă:-fâfâwâi
19	(bòŋ) ká lău 'don't rub off'	yă:-lâi	yă:-lù:yì
20	(kêŋkòŋ) ká yèu 'don't sharpen'	yă:-yèi	yă:-yù:yì
21	(blòŋ) ká kpâi 'don't gather'	yă:-kpâiì	yă:-kpâ:lì
22	(ònéñ) ká kâm 'don't help'	yă:-kâmî	yă:-kâ:ml
23	(ònéñ) ká wùŋ 'don't send away'	yă:-wùŋî	yă:-wùŋŋî
24	(lújî) ká nòná 'don't cook'	yă:-nòŋ	yă:-nò:nî
25	(bòŋ) ká kèbî 'don't spoil'	yă:-kèbî	yă:-kèkèwèi
26	(lémâ) ká kù:wè 'don't open'	yă:-kù:wè	yă:-kù:wèi
27	ká wòmâi 'don't shout'	(ké) yă:-wòmâi	yă:-wòmâi
28	ká tètèlèi 'don't go here and there'	(ké) yă:-tètèlèi	yă:-tètèlèi

TABLE B₅ : SIMPLE VERB-FORMS.

NEGATIVE

NEUTRAL TYPE I

NEUTRAL TYPE II

NON-CONTINUATIVE

CONTINUATIVE

NON-CONTINUATIVE

CONTINUATIVE

LOW-TONE

15	(ɔ̀nɛ̀n) yǎ:-dê	(ɔ̀nɛ̀n) yǎ:-dêi	(ɔ̀nɛ̀n) yǎ:-dê	(ɔ̀nɛ̀n) yǎ:-dêi
16	yǎ:-yê:	yǎ:-yêi	yǎ:-yê:	yǎ:-yêi
17	yǎ:-kô:	yǎ:-kô:yɪ	yǎ:-kô:	yǎ:-kô:yɪ
18	yǎ:-fâi	yǎ:-fâfâwâi	yǎ:-fâi	yǎ:-fâfâwâi
19	yǎ:-lâu	yǎ:-lû:yɪ	yǎ:-lâu	yǎ:-lû:yɪ
20	yǎ:-yêu	yǎ:-yû:yɪ	yǎ:-yêu	yǎ:-yû:yɪ
21	yǎ:-kpâi	yǎ:-kpâ:1ɪ	yǎ:-kpâi	yǎ:-kpâ:1ɪ
22	yǎ:-kâm	yǎ:-kâ:mɪ	yǎ:-kâm	yǎ:-kâ:mɪ
23	yǎ:-wûŋ	yǎ:-wûŋɪ	yǎ:-wûŋ	yǎ:-wûŋɪ
24	yǎ:-nɔ̀nâ	yǎ:-nô:nɪ	yǎ:-nɔ̀nâ	yǎ:-nô:nɪ
25	yǎ:-kəbɪ	yǎ:-kəkəkəwêi	yǎ:-kəbɪ	yǎ:-kəkəkəwêi
26	yǎ:-kû:wê	yǎ:-kû:wêi	yǎ:-kû:wê	yǎ:-kû:wêi
27	yǎ:-wɔ̀mɛ̀i	yǎ:-wɔ̀mɛ̀i	yǎ:-wɔ̀mɛ̀i	yǎ:-wɔ̀mɛ̀i
28	yǎ:-têtêlêi	yǎ:-têtêlêi	yǎ:-têtêlêi	yǎ:-têtêlêi

TABLE B₆ : NEGATIVE FORMS OF SIMPLE VERB (which are compound verb-forms).

NEGATIVE

CONDITIONAL	RELATIVE CLAUSE	MAIN VERB
NON-PAST AUX.	PAST AUX.	TYPE I AUX. TYPE II AUX. NON-CONTINUATIVE CONTINUATIVE

LOW-TONE

15	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yá:-bí	yâ-bí	(ònhèn) yă:-dê:	(ònhèn) yă:-dêi
16	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yá:-bí	yâ-bí	yă:-yê:	yă:-yêi
17	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yá:-bí	yâ-bí	yă:-kòì	yă:-kò:yì
18	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yá:-bí	yâ-bí	yă:-fâi	yă:-fâfâwêi
19	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yá:-bí	yâ-bí	yă:-lâi	yă:-lù:yì
20	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yá:-bí	yâ-bí	yă:-yêi	yă:-yù:yì
21	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yá:-bí	yâ-bí	yă:-kpâ:lî	yă:-kpâ:lî
22	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yá:-bí	yâ-bí	yă:-kâmt	yă:-kâ:mi
23	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yá:-bí	yâ-bí	yă:-wùŋɔ	yă:-wùŋɔ
24	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yá:-bí	yâ-bí	yă:-nòŋ	yă:-nò:nî
25	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yá:-bí	yâ-bí	yă:-kêbî	yă:-kêkêwêi
26	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yá:-bí	yâ-bí	yă:-kù:wê	yă:-kù:wêi
27	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yá:-bí	yâ-bí	yă:-wòmâi	yă:-wòmâi
28	yâ:-bí	yáffí bì	yá:-bí	yâ-bí	yă:-têtêlêi	yă:-têtêlêi

TABLE C₁ : COMPOUND VERB-FORMS.

COMPOUND VERBS: POSITIVE			
IMPERATIVE/Meaning M.Vb: Neutral Type II Aux. (Zero-prefix) as below		AORIST: M.Vb: Neutral Form. Aux. as below	
HIGH-TONE AUXILIARY		PERFECTIVE M.Vb: Neutral Form. Aux. as below.	
1	bà:yéní yà-sé: (kétí) 'fell (a tree) again'	yá-yéní	yá-yèní
2	bà:kání yà-kòí (blǒŋ) 'wash (the clothes) at once'	yá-kání	yá-kàní
3	bà:fí yà-fàí (lǐpé:lá) 'come and weed'	yá-fí	yá-fì
LOW-TONE AUXILIARY			
4	bǎ:bí yà-kòí (blǒŋ) 'wash (the clothes) later'	yá-bí	yá-bì
5	bǎ:duké yà-kám (yànén) 'help (people) instead'	yá-duké	yá-duké
6	bǎ:túm yà-yèu (kèŋkòŋ) 'don't sharpen too much'	yá-túm	yá-tùm
TWO HIGH-TONE AUXILIARIES			
7	bà: kání yà-yéní yà-kòí (blǒŋ) 'wash again at once'	yá-kání yá-yéní	yá-kàní yá-yéní
8	bà: kání yà-fí yà-nòhà (lújí) 'come and cook at once'	yá-kání yá-fí	yá-kàní yá-fí
9	bà:yéní yà-fí yà-nòhà (lújí) 'come and cook again'	yá-yéní yá-fí	yá-yèní yá-fí

TABLE C₂ : COMPOUND VERB-FORMS.

COMPOUND VERBS: POSITIVE

NEUTRAL TYPE I M. Vb: Neutral Type I Aux. as below	NEUTRAL TYPE II M. Vb: Neutral Type II Aux. as below	C O N D I T I O N A L			REL. CL. TYPE I M. Vb: Neutral Form Aux. as below	REL. CL. TYPE II M. Vb: Neutral Form Aux. as below
		NON-PAST M. Vb: AORIST Aux. as below	PAST M. Vb: AORIST Aux. as below			

HIGH-TONE AUXILIARY

1	yá-yéní	yà-yéní	yá:-yéní	yá-fí yèní	yá:-yéní	yà-yéní
2	yá-kání	yà-kání	yá:-kání	yá-fí kàní	yá:-kání	yà-kání
3	yá-fí	yà-fí	yá:-fí	yá-fí fí	yá:-fí	yà-fí

LOW-TONE AUXILIARY

4	yá-bí	yà-bí	yá:-bí:	yá-fí bí	yá:-bí	yà-bí:
5	yá-dùkè	yà-dùkè	yá:-dùkè	yá-fí dùkè	yá:-dùkè	yà-dùkè
6	yá-tùm	yà-tùm	yá:-tùm	yá-fí tùm	yá:-tùm	yà-tùm

TWO HIGH-TONE AUXILIARIES

7	yá-kání yá-yéní	yà-kání yà-yéní	yá:-kání yá-yéní	yá-fí kàní yá-yéní	yá:-kání yá-yéní	yà-kání yá-yéní
8	yá-kání yá-fí	yà-kání yà-fí	yá:-kání yá-fí	yá-fí kàní yá-fí	yá:-kání yá-fí	yà-kání yá-fí
9	yá-yéní yá-fí	yà-yéní yà-fí	yá:-yéní yá-fí	yá-fí yèní yá-fí	yá:-yéní yá-fí	yà-yéní yá-fí

TABLE C₃ : COMPOUND VERB-FORMS.

COMPOUND VERBS: POSITIVE

IMPERATIVE/Meaning
M.Vb: Neutral Type II
Aux. (Zero-prefix) as below

AORIST:
M.Vb: Neutral Form
or II. Aux. as below

PERFECTIVE
M.Vb: Neutral Form
Aux. as below

TWO LOW-TONE AUXILIARIES

- 10 bǎ:tùm yǎ-dùkè yǎ-nēŋ (ɔyíné) 'don't talk so much' yǎ-tùm yǎ-dùkè yǎ-tùm yǎ-dùkè
11 bǎ:bì yǎ-tùm yǎ-nōnǎ (lǐjǐ) 'don't cook too much' yǎ-bì yǎ-tùm yǎ-bì yǎ-tùm
12 bǎ:kām yǎ-bì yǎ-fǎi (lǐpé:lǎ) 'please try and weed' yǎ-kām yǎ-bì yǎ-kām yǎ-bì

ONE HIGH-TONE AND ONE LOW-TONE AUXILIARY

- 13 bǎ:fǐ yǎ-bì yǎ-nēŋ (yònǎnēŋ) 'come and work later' yǎ-fǐ yǎ-bì yǎ-fǐ yǎ-bì
14 bǎ:kǎnǐ yǎ-dùkè yǎ-nēŋ (yònǎnēŋ) 'do some work now instead' yǎ-kǎnǐ yǎ-dùkè yǎ-kǎnǐ yǎ-dùkè

ONE LOW-TONE AND ONE HIGH-TONE AUXILIARY

- 15 bǎ:bì yǎ-fǐ yǎ-nēŋ (yònǎnēŋ) 'make sure you come and work later' yǎ-bì yǎ-fǐ yǎ-bì yǎ-fǐ
16 bǎ:dùkè yǎ-kǎnǐ yǎ-kpǎl (blǒŋ) 'gather now instead' yǎ-dùkè yǎ-kǎnǐ yǎ-dùkè yǎ-kǎnǐ

Examples of Extended Compound Verbs

- bǎ:fǐ yǎ-kǎnǐ yǎ-dùkè yǎ-yénǐ yǎ-kòu 'come and go now again instead'
bǎ:fǐ yǎ-bì yǎ-kǎnǐ yǎ-dùkè yǎ-yénǐ yǎ-kòu 'when it is time, go then again instead'
bǎ:fǐ yǎ-bì yǎ-kǎnǐ yǎ-dùkè yǎ-yénǐ yǎ-sél yǎ-kòu yǎ-bé: yǎ-tè (lǐtè)
'when it is time, go then again quickly to stand and sing a song'

TABLE C₄ : COMPOUND VERB-FORMS

COMPOUND VERBS: POSITIVE

NEUTRAL TYPE I	NEUTRAL TYPE II	CONDIT I ON	REL. CL. TYPE I	REL. CL. TYPE II
M.Vb:Neutral Type I	M.Vb:Neutral Type II	NON-PAST M.Vb:AORIST	M.Vb:Neutral Form	M.Vb:Neutral Form
Aux. as below	Aux. as below	Aux. as below	Aux. as below	Aux. as below

TWO LOW-TONE AUXILIARIES

10	yá-tùm yá-dùkè	yà-tùm yà-dùkè	yá:-tùm yá-dùkè	yá:-tùm yá-dùkè	yà-tùm yá-dùkè
11	yá-bì yá-tùm	yà-bì yà-tùm	yá:-bì: yá-tùm	yá:-bì yá-tùm	yà-bì yá-tùm
12	yá-kám yá-bì	yà-kám yà-bì	yá:-kám yá-bì	yá:-kám yá-tùm	yà-kám yá-tùm

ONE HIGH-TONE AND ONE LOW-TONE AUXILIARY

13	yá-fí yá-bì	yà-fí yà-bì	yá:-fí: yá-bì	yá:-fí fì yá-bì	yà-fí yá-bì
14	yá-kání yá-dùkè	yà-kání yà-dùkè	yá:-kání yá-dùkè	yá:-kání yá-dùkè	yà-kání yá-dùkè

ONE LOW-TONE AND ONE HIGH-TONE AUXILIARY

15	yá-bì yá-fí	yà-bì yà-fí	yá:-bì: yá-fí	yá:-fí bì yá-fí	yà-bì yá-fí
16	yá-dùkè yá-kání	yà-dùkè yà-kání	yá:-dùkè yá-kání	yá:-kání yá:-dùkè	yà-dùkè yá-kání

TABLE D₁ : COMPOUND VERB; FORMS.

COMPOUND VERBS: NEGATIVE

IMPERATIVE/MEANING	AORIST PERFECTIVE (with ké)	NEUTRAL TYPE I	NEUTRAL TYPE II
M.Vb: Verb-stem of Neutral Form			
Aux. (zero-prefix) as below	M.Vb: Neutral Form	Aux. as below	M.Vb: Neutral Type II
			Aux. as below
HIGH-TONE AUXILIARY	Aux. as below		

1	bà:(kètí)ká yèní ká sé: 'don't fell(a tree) again'	(ké kètí)yá:-yéńí	(kètí)yá:-yéńí	(kètí)yá:-yéńí
2	bà:(bìǒŋ)ká kàńí ká kòí 'don't bother washing clothes'	(ké bìǒŋ)yá:-kàńí	(bìǒŋ)yá:-kàńí	(bìǒŋ)yá:-kàńí
3	bà:(lîpé:lá)ká fí ká fàí 'don't come and weed'	(ké lîpé:lá)yá:-fí	(lîpé:lá)yá:-fí	(lîpé:lá)yá:-fí

LOW-TONE AUXILIARY

4	bà:(bìǒŋ)ká bì ká kòí 'don't wash later'	(ké bìǒŋ)yá:-bì	(bìǒŋ)yá:-bì	(bìǒŋ)yá:-bì
5	bà:(yànèn)ká dùkè ká kàm 'don't help instead'	(ké yànèn)yá:-dùkè	(yànèn)yá:-dùkè	(yànèn)yá:-dùkè
6	bà:(kèŋkòŋ) ká tùm ká yèu 'don't sharpen too much'	(ké kèŋkòŋ)yá:-tùm	(kèŋkòŋ) yá:-tùm	(kèŋkòŋ)yá:-tùm

TWO HIGH-TONE AUXILIARIES

7	bà:(bìǒŋ)ká kàńí ká yèní ká kòí 'don't bother to wash again'	yá:-kàńí yá-yéńí	yá:-kàńí yá-yéńí	yá:-kàńí yá-yéńí
8	bà:(lújí)ká kàńí ká fí ká nònà 'don't bother to come and cook'	yá:-kàńí yá-fí	yá:-kàńí yá-fí	yá:-kàńí yá-fí
9	bà:(lújí)ká yèní ká fí ká nònà 'don't come and cook again'	yá:-yéńí yá-fí	yá:-yéńí yá-fí	yá:-yéńí yá-fí

TABLE D₂: COMPOUND VERB-FORMS.

COMPOUND VERBS: NEGATIVE

	CONDITIONAL		REL.C. TYPE I		REL.CL. TYPE II	
	NON-PAST M.Vb: Aorist Aux. as below	PAST M.Vb: Aorist Aux. as below	(a) with -bi aux. M.Vb: Neutral Form Aux. as below	(b) without -bi aux. M.Vb: LOW-TONE NEG. AOR. Aux. as below		
HIGH-TONE AUXILIARY						
1.	yâ:-bí yâ:-yéni	yáfi bì(kètí)yâ:-yéni	(kètí)yâ:-bí yâ:-yéni	(kètí) yâ:-yéni	yâ-yéni	(kètí)
2.	yâ:-bí yâ:-kání	yáfi bì yâ:-kání	(kètí)yâ:-bí yâ:-kání	yâ:-kání	yâ-yéni	
3	yâ:-bí yâ:-fí	yáfi bì yâ:-fí	(kètí)yâ:-bí yâ:-fí	yâ:-fí	yâ-fí	
LOW-TONE AUXILIARY						
4	yâ:-bí yâ:-bì	yáfi bì yâ:-bì	(kètí)yâ:-bí yâ:-bì	yâ:-bì	yâ-bí:	
5	yâ:-bí yâ:-dùkè	yáfi bì yâ:-dùkè	(kètí)yâ:-bí yâ:-dùkè	yâ:-dùkè	yâ-dùkè	
6	yâ:-bí yâ:-tùm	yáfi bì yâ:-tùm	(kètí)yâ:-bí yâ:-tùm	yâ:-tùm	yâ-tùm	
TWO HIGH-TONE AUXILIARIES						
7	yâ:-bí yâ:-kání	yáfi bì yâ:-kání	(kètí)yâ:-bí yâ:-kání	yâ:-kání	yâ-kání	yâ-yéni
	yâ-yéni	yâ-yéni	yâ-yéni	yâ-yéni		
8	yâ:-bí yâ:-kání	yáfi bì yâ:-kání	(kètí)yâ:-bí yâ:-kání	yâ:-kání	yâ-kání	yâ-fí
	yâ-fí	yâ-fí	yâ-fí	yâ-fí		
9	yâ:-bí yâ:-yéni	yáfi bì yâ:-yéni	(kètí)yâ:-bí yâ:-yéni	yâ:-yéni	yâ-yéni	yâ-fí
	yâ-fí	yâ-fí	yâ-fí	yâ-fí		

TABLE D₄ : COMPOUND VERB-FORMS

COMPOUND VERBS : NEGATIVE

CONDITIONAL		REL. CL. TYPE II		REL. CL. TYPE II	
NON-PAST	PAST	(a) wɪ th -bɪ aux.	(b) wɪ th out -bɪ aux.	M.Vb.: LOW-TONE NEG. AOR.	
M.Vb: Aorist	M.Vb: Aorist	M.Vb: Neutral Form	M.Vb: LOW-TONE NEG. AOR.	Aux. as below	
Aux. as below	Aux. as below	Aux. as below	Aux. as below		

TWO LOW-TONE AUXILIARIES

10	yǎ:-bí yǎ:-tùm	yǎfɪ bì yǎ:-tùm	(kɛtɪ)yǎ:-bí yǎ:-tùm	yǎ:-tùm yǎ-dùkè	yǎ-tùm yǎ-dùkè
	yǎ-dùkè	yǎ-dùkè	yǎ-dùkè		
11	yǎ:-bí yǎ:-bì	yǎfɪ bì yǎ:-bì	(kɛtɪ)yǎ:-bí yǎ:-bì	yǎ:-bì yǎ-tùm	yǎ-bì yǎ-tùm
	yǎ-tùm	yǎ-tùm	yǎ-tùm		
12	yǎ:-bí yǎ:-kàm	yǎfɪ bì yǎ:-kàm	(kɛtɪ)yǎ:-bí yǎ:-kàm	yǎ:-kàm yǎ-bì	yǎ-kàm yǎ-tùm
	yǎ-bì	yǎ-bì	yǎ-bì		

ONE HIGH-TONE AND ONE LOW-TONE AUXILIARY

13	yǎ:-bí yǎ:-fɪ yǎ-bì yǎfɪ bì yǎ:-fɪ	(kɛtɪ)yǎ:-bí yǎ:-fɪ	yǎ:-fɪ yǎ-bì	yǎ-fɪ yǎ-bì	yǎ-fɪ yǎ-bì
	yǎ-bì	yǎ-bì	yǎ-bì		
14	yǎ:-bí yǎ:-kání	yǎfɪ bì yǎ:-kání	(kɛtɪ)yǎ:-bí yǎ:-kání	yǎ:-kání yǎ-dùkè	yǎ-kání yǎ-dùkè
	yǎ-dùkè	yǎ-dùkè	yǎ-dùkè		

ONE LOW-TONE AND ONE HIGH-TONE AUXILIARY

15	yǎ:-bí yǎ:-bì yǎ-fɪ yǎfɪ bì yǎ:-bì	(kɛtɪ)yǎ:-bí yǎ:-bì	yǎ:-bì yǎ-fɪ	yǎ-bì yǎ-fɪ	yǎ-bì yǎ-fɪ
	yǎ-fɪ	yǎ-fɪ	yǎ-fɪ		
16	yǎ:-bí yǎ:-dùkè	yǎfɪ bì yǎ:-dùkè	(kɛtɪ)yǎ:-bí yǎ:-dùkè	yǎ:-dùkè yǎ-kání	yǎ-dùkè yǎ-kání
	yǎ-kání	yǎ-kání	yǎ-kání		

Non-Continuative and Continuative verb-forms appear to be parallel verb-forms which express simple or definite actions or situations and continuous or continuing actions or situations respectively. The non-continuative verb-forms provide most of our examples.

4.131 Simple Verb-Forms

Simple verb-forms may be positive or negative as illustrated by the Tables. Note that positive simple verb-forms are generally marked by the presence of a short prefix bearing a high-toneme (cf. A Tables), while negative simple verb-forms are generally marked by the presence of a long prefix bearing a low tone or a rising glide (cf. B Tables).

4.1311 The Simple Imperative Verb-Form

(a) Morphology

The distinguishing feature of the positive simple imperative verb-form is that the verb-stem occurs without a prefix. Inherently high-toned imperative verb-forms are marked by high tone throughout. Inherently low-toned imperative verb-forms are marked by a low-high glide if monosyllabic, an initial syllable marked by low tone followed by a high-tone syllable if disyllabic, and a sequence of two syllables marked by low tone followed by a high-tone syllable if trisyllabic.

The negative simple imperative verb-form consists of the negative particle *ká* followed by a verb-stem marked by low tone only.

When the imperative verb-form is plural, the singular imperative verb-form described above is optionally preceded by the 2nd person

plural pronoun bã: or bà:, e.g.

fú kên → bã: fú kên
come come (plu.)

(For further examples, cf. Tables C₁, C₃).

There are no imperative verb-forms of more than three syllables in Lòkée.

(b) Syntactic Function

Positive simple imperative verb-forms occur in imperative clauses of positive polarity, while negative simple imperative verb-forms occur in imperative clauses of negative polarity (for a more detailed description of imperative clauses, positive or negative, cf. chapter six).

Examples (imperative verb-forms underlined):

In positive imperative clauses:

kém blǒŋ yémì épál-è:pál
sew things my quickly
'Sew my clothes quickly'

bã: kǒu íkô:bàsè íyà:sí
go church today
'Go to church today'

In negative imperative clauses:

blǒŋ yémì épál-è:pál ká kêm
'Don't sew my clothes quickly'
bã: íkô:bàsè íyà:sí ká kôu
'Don't go to church today'

4.1312 The Simple Aorist Verb-Form

(a) Morphology

The shape of each Aorist verb-stem has to be learned, as there is

no sure way of deriving it from, say, the simpler imperative verb-form. Some help may be obtained from the table of Verb-Stem subclasses under section 4.1121 above.

With regard to tone, high-tone Aorist Verb-stems are marked by high-tone alone, and low-tone Aorist Verb-stems bear low-tone only.

The prefix of a positive Aorist verb-form is marked by a high toneme, whether the verb-stem is inherently high-tone or low-tone.

The prefix of a negative Aorist verb-form bears a long low tone, when the verb-stem is inherently high-tone, and a low-high glide when the verb-stem is inherently low-tone.

(b) Syntactic Function

The Aorist expresses a simple or definite action or situation in the past, but also sometimes in the present, particularly with stative verbs.

Examples (Aorist verb-forms underlined):

In positive clauses:

óǵê:-nèn ímà: ǵ-tá: èkpè òfì yé ké
hunter the he-shot leopard he-killed it has
'The hunter shot a leopard and killed it'

óǵê:-nèn ímà: ǵ-fì: èkpè
'The hunter killed a leopard'

In negative clauses:

óǵê:-nèn ímà: èkpè ò:-ké:
'The hunter did not see a leopard'
óǵê:-nèn ímà: èkpè ǒ:fì:
'The hunter did not kill a leopard'

When it is a stative verb that is in the Aorist verb-form, the

meaning is either past or present according to the context. Thus the sentence,

kòyũ: kímà: kó-yáu Nkó

may mean either 'That war was at Nko' or 'That war is at Nko'. In this case, where the context does not make it clear whether the past or present meaning is intended, the meaning of the sentence may be disambiguated by the presence of a temporal word or phrase, e.g.

ìsén kòyũ: kímà: kó-yáu Nkó

can have only one meaning:

'Yesterday the war was at Nko',

and

ájá:jí:mìn kòyũ: kímà: kó-yáu Nkó

can only mean

'Now the war is at Nko'.

4.1313 The Simple Continuative Verb-Form

(a) Morphology

Like Aorist verb-stems, the shape of each continuative verb-stem has to be learned. The table of verb-stem subclasses under section 4.1121 above may be found to be of some assistance, since verbs conjugated in the same way are classed together.

The verb-stem and prefix tone patterns are identical with those of Aorist verb-forms already described above, as may be seen from the Tables.

(b) Syntactic Function

The continuative expresses an action or a state that is still going on. It may also express an uncompleted or habitual action or state that may not be going on at the time of speaking. The context

and/or the action or situation involved usually make the sense of the continuative unambiguous.

Examples (continuative verb-forms underlined):

èwì é-mái 'The sun is shining'

úkwá ímìnà: ó-kù:yì Èfìl
canoe this it-is-going Calabar

1. 'This canoe is going to Calabar' (perhaps for the first time).
2. 'This canoe goes to Calabar' (it always does).

But

lògàṅà jíminà: ló-kù:yì Èfìl

has only one meaning:

'This river flows to Calabar'

èwì è:-mái 'The sun is not shining'

lògàṅà jíminà: Èfìl lǒ:-kù:yì
'This river does not flow to Calabar'

When the habitual meaning is required, and neither the context nor the verb itself can render this clearly, the auxiliary -ní may be employed, thus

úkwá ímìnà: ó-ní kù:yì Èfìl
'This canoe goes to Calabar'

Note that the presence of the auxiliary requires that the main verb be without a prefix.

The continuative may also express a continuous action or state in the past or future, when assisted by a temporal word or phrase referring to the past or future respectively, e.g.

ŋkɛ́: bɛ̀n bímà: ìsén yá-kù:yì kèblɛ́:

I saw children the yesterday they-are-going farm

'I saw the children going to the farm yesterday'

kò:wé bɛ̀n bímà: yá-kù:yì kèblɛ́:

'Tomorrow the children will be going to the farm'

The fact that continuative verb-forms may be used to express an action or state in the past, present or future suggests the existence of a parallel between continuative and non-continuative verb-forms, a parallel which is only partially indicated by the Tables (cf. the verb-forms under the Neutral Type I, Neutral Type II, Conditional and Relative Clause headings).

4.1314 The Simple Perfective Verb-Form

(a) Morphology

The perfective consists of two words: a perfective verb-form and the perfective particle kɛ́.

As in the case of other verb-stems, the shape of each perfective verb-stem has to be learned: it is perhaps useful to know that the positive perfective verb-stem is identical in shape with the imperative verb-form, and that the negative perfective verb-stem is identical in shape with the Aorist verb-stem.

Inherently high-tone positive perfective verb-stems of one syllable are always marked by low tone. High-tone positive perfective verb-stems of two syllables are marked either by a sequence of two low tones when the initial syllable does not have a long vowel or by a low tone followed by a high tone when the initial syllable contains a long vowel. High-tone positive perfective verb-stems of three syllables are marked by a sequence of two low tones followed by a final high tone.

Inherently low-tone positive perfective verb-stems of one syllable are generally marked by low tone, but monosyllabic verb-stems marked by a rising glide also occur. Low-tone positive perfective verb-stems of two syllables bear a low tone on the first syllable and a high tone on the second syllable. Inherently low-tone positive perfective verb-stems of three syllables, like similar high-tone verb-stems, are marked by a sequence of two low tones followed by a final high tone.

The prefix of a positive perfective verb-form is always marked by a high toneme.

The perfective particle ké is generally marked by a low toneme when it follows a positive high-tone perfective verb-form. However, it is marked by high tone when it immediately follows a positive high-tone perfective verb-form ending in a high tone or a positive low-tone perfective verb-form.

When the perfective verb-form is negative, ^{prefixes of} high-tone verb-forms are marked by a long low tone, while that of a negative low-tone perfective verb-form bears a low-high glide.

In a negative clause, the perfective particle always precedes the negative perfective verb-form, and is always marked by a high toneme.

(b) Syntactic Function

The perfective expresses an event that has taken place in the immediate past the effects of which are still present.

Examples (perfective verb-forms underlined)

wèn ímà: ǝ-pǝ:ná ké líblàblà líwù
child the he-has-answered questions your
'The child has answered your questions'

ètó-ñwènè é-pèn kě íyà:sí
school it-has-closed today
'The school has closed today'

wèn ímà: kě líblàblà líwù ò:-pó:ná
'The child has not answered your questions'

ètó-ñwènè kě ẽ:-pènì íyà:sí
'The school has not closed today'

Note that kě may accompany verb-forms other than perfective, to express a completive meaning, e.g. fú kě kên, which means 'come beforehand', whereas fú kên means simply 'come'.

4.1315 The Simple Neutral Verb-Forms

There are two Neutral verb-forms, so described, not only because they can both express, depending on the context, a past and a non-past action or situation, but also because they may occur in nuclear and non-nuclear clauses with or without a conjunction.

Examples (Neutral verb-forms underlined):

bèn yámòn yá-yè: mǎ:, yá-dè mǎn
children our they-come here, they-greeted us

'Our children came and greeted us'

bèn yámòn nè yá-yè: mǎ:, yá dè mǎn
children our will they-come here, they-greet us
'Our children will come and greet us'

bèn yámòn yámènì ádúdúní tǔtǔ yá-dè mǎn
Our children knelt down until they greeted us'

bèn yámòn nè yámèn ádúdúní tǔtǔ yá-dè mǎn
'Our children will kneel down until they greet us'

bèn yámòn mǎn yǎ:-dè
'Our children will not greet us'

bèn yámòn mǎn yǎ:-dè-ó:?
'Will our children not greet us?'

bên yámòn, mǒn yǎ:-dê-ô:?

'Our children, won't you greet us?

The two Neutral Types are here considered under the same heading, firstly, because the only difference between the two verb-forms is to be found in the tone of their positive prefixes, (Type I and Type II negative Neutral Verb forms are identical), and secondly because they appear to be complementary to each other when expressing a past action or situation, non-pronominal prefixes, excluding the 3rd person singular prefix, being marked by the Neutral Type I prefixal high toneme, and the pronominal prefixes and the 3rd person singular prefix being marked by the Neutral Type II prefixal low toneme. This means that the yà-prefix under Neutral Type II can never be translated by 'they', but by 'you', and yá- (i.e. marked by high tone) prefixing a verb-form under Neutral Type I and expressing a past meaning cannot be translated as 'you' but as 'they'.

Examples (Neutral verb-forms underlined):

bên yáwù yákdì yá-bê: dání::î

children your they-went they-stood over there

'Your children went and stood over there'

yákdì yà-bê: dání::î

you-went you-stood over there

'You went and stood over there'

ñtēn ímà: íwáí, í-kòu, ín-bê: kèpèlê:pèl

animals the they-ran, they-went, they-stood far away

'The animals ran away and stood far away'

The shape of a Neutral verb-stem is often similar to the verb's imperative verb-form, as the Tables show. Neutral Type I and Type II verb-stems of the same verb are identical.

4.13151 The Simple Neutral Type I

(a) Morphology

The Neutral Type I verb-form consists of a prefix marked by a high toneme and a continuative or non-continuative verb-stem that has to be learned.

(b) Syntactic Function

The Neutral Type I verb-form may be used to express either

- (a) a future action or situation when it is preceded, in the positive, by the future particle *nè*, e.g.

ðbàsè ô:dù kè, bên bímà: nè yátó lòbó
rain if-it-thunders, children the will they-cry
'If it thunders, the children will cry'

It should be noted that when the verbal prefix denotes a 1st, 2nd or 3rd person singular and the verb-stem is that of a high-tone verb, the high tone of the verbal prefix is rendered phonetically as low following the future particle *nè*, e.g.

/nè ḡ-kôî blǒŋ/ → [nè ḡ-kôî blǒŋ]
'I shall wash the clothes'

/ḡwè nè ókôî blǒŋ/ → [ḡwè nè òkôî blǒŋ]
'It is he who will wash the clothes'

- or (b) a past action or situation (i) when it occurs in a non-nuclear clause that is dependent upon a nuclear clause expressing a past action or situation, and (ii) when the prefix is non-pronominal (with the exception of the 3rd person singular prefix *O-*), e.g.

ðbàsè ódù kè, bên bímà: yátó lòbó
'It thundered and the children cried'

òbàsè óní dù kè, bèn bímà: yá-tôí lòbó

'Whenever it thundered, the children were crying'.

4.13152 The Simple Neutral Type II

(a) Morphology

The Neutral Type II verb-form consists of a prefix marked by a low toneme and a continuative or non-continuative verb-stem that has to be learned.

(b) Syntactic Function

The Neutral Type II verb-form occurs in non-nuclear clauses when the verbal prefix is pronominal or denotes a 3rd person singular. It usually expresses a past action or situation, particularly in folk-tale narratives.

Examples (Neutral Type II verb-form underlined):

òbóí wàná ókòu ká:, òkpèyè òbóí Ágbálángbá
chief one he-went there, he-was-called chief Agbalangba
'There was a certain chief called Chief Agbalangba'

yókòí kèblé:, yò-nèŋ yònénánŋ
We-went farm, we-did work
'We went to the farm and worked hard'

The Neutral Type II verb-form may also have a non-past meaning when the non-nuclear clause in which it occurs is dependent upon a nuclear clause with a non-past meaning, e.g.

yà-kpìntè yà-kòí ékò ímà, jàn ẽ:wà:nà
even-if you-wash cloth the, never it-will-not-be-white
'However much you wash the cloth, it will never be white'

As Tables B₂ and B₅ show, there is no formal difference between Neutral Type I and Neutral Type II negative verb-forms. However, verb-

forms occurring with a pronominal verbal prefix or with a verbal prefix denoting the 3rd person singular are considered as negative Neutral Type II verb-forms, and negative Neutral verb-forms with a non-pronominal prefix (except the 3rd person singular verbal prefix) as Negative Neutral Type I. For instance, the underlined negative Neutral verb-form in the following sentence:

bèn bímà: yátùm yátáwá ètém, lǒbǎ yǎ:tò
children the they-very they-are-strong heart, they-will-not cry
'The children are strong-willed and so they will not cry'

is taken to be a Neutral Type I verb-form, because the verbal prefix is non-pronominal, and therefore cannot occur as a Neutral Type II verb-form. Similarly, the underlined negative Neutral verb-form in the following sentence:

yákòì kèblê:, yònéńń yǎ:nèn
you-went farm, work you-did-not
'You went to the farm without working'

is taken to be a Neutral Type II verb-form, because the verbal prefix is pronominal, denoting, as it does here, the 2nd person plural.

Note that the prefix of a negative Type I or Type II Neutral verb-form is marked by a low-mid glide, written [˘] over the prefix, and symbolized LM in formulae. This prefix tone pattern always gives a future meaning to negative Neutral verb-forms, e.g.

lègǎu) yǎ:dàu

- (i) 'They will not laugh' (Neutral Type I)
or
(ii) 'You will not laugh' (Neutral Type II)

(As already explained, ya- denoting the 3rd person plural is a Neutral Type I prefix form, while ya- denoting the 2nd person plural is a Neutral Type II prefix form).

4.1316 The Simple Conditional Verb-Forms

Of the various Conditional verb-forms, only the positive non-past Conditional verb-form is a simple verb-form, the past and negative Conditional verb-forms all being compound verb-forms, and included in the Tables under consideration as forms which simple verbs must take when they occur in a Conditional clause with a past meaning or with a negative polarity.

4.13161 The Non-Past Conditional Verb-Form

(a) Morphology

The positive non-past Conditional verb-form consists of a prefix marked by a high-low glide and followed by a Conditional verb-stem which has to be learned. It may be noted that, for high-tone verbs, the non-past Conditional verb-stem is identical with the Aorist verb-stem.

The negative non-past Conditional verb-form consists of an auxiliary and a main verb. As the Tables B₅ and B₆ show, both the auxiliary and the main verb consist of a prefix and a verb-stem. The auxiliary prefix bears a high-low glide and the verb-stem is =bi. The main verb prefix carries a long low tone if the verb is high-tone and a low-high glide if the verb is low-tone. The main verb verb-stem is marked by high tone or low tone according as the verb is high-tone or low-tone respectively.

Examples (negative non-past Conditional verb-forms underlined):

yìsòwé yíwù yí:-bí yì:-túké...
pot your if-it it-leaks-not
'If your pot does not leak...

blòŋ yémòn yê:-bí yě:-wù:
things our if-they they-are-not dry
'If our clothes are not dry...

(b) Syntactic Function

The non-past Conditional verb-form occurs in conditional clauses expressing, strictly a present meaning, and loosely a future meaning, e.g.

òbàsè ô:-tèi, bà: yá: dé ñ:tó mbà:
rain if-it-falls, you(pl.) stay at houses your
'If it rains, stay at home'

òbàsè ô:-bí ò:-tèi, bǎ: yè: dé è:tó émì
rain if-it it-falls-not, you(pl.) arrive at house my
'If it does not rain, come to my house'

4.13162 The Past Conditional Verb-Form

Positive past Conditional verb-forms are of two types: nuclear past Conditional verb-forms, and non-nuclear past Conditional verb-forms.

(i) The Non-Nuclear Past Conditional Verb-Form

(a) Morphology

The non-Nuclear past Conditional verb-form consists of the auxiliary -fi and a main verb-stem that has to be learned. In many cases, the main verb-stem resembles the imperative verb-form. The verb-stem of high-tone verbs is marked by low tone, while that of low tone verbs carries a low-high glide over monosyllables, a low tone followed by a high one over disyllables, and a sequence of two low tones followed by a high tone over trisyllables.

(b) Syntactic Function

The non-Nuclear past Conditional verb-form occurs in a non-nuclear Conditional clause with a positive polarity and expresses a hypothetical action or situation in the past, e.g.

bèn bímà: yáfí tò: lòbè, yófí yòdénnè bé
children the if-they-should cry, we-should we-begged them
'If the children cried, we would beg them to stop'

(ii) The Nuclear Past Conditional Verb-Forms

(a) Morphology

The Nuclear past Conditional verb-form consists of an auxiliary and a main verb-form. The form of the auxiliary is the same as in non-nuclear past Conditional verb-forms. But the main verb-form comprises a prefix and a main verb-stem. The main verb prefix is marked by a low toneme, while the main verb-stem has to be learned. It should be noted, however, that the main verb-stem of low-tone verbs is identical with the verb-stem of imperative verb-forms.

The *ke* enclosed in brackets in Tables A₂ and A₄ is the perfective *ke* and helps to convey the perfective or completive aspect of the verb.

(b) Syntactic Function

The Nuclear past Conditional verb-form occurs in Nuclear Conditional clauses with a positive polarity and a past meaning, e.g.

băněń bímà: yáfí yà-tó ké lòbé
women the they-should they-have-cried
'The women would have wept'

The negative past Conditional verb-form consists of two auxiliaries and a main verb-form. The auxiliaries are -fí and -bì. The first auxiliary occurs with a prefix marked by a high toneme, while only the verb-stem of the second auxiliary is required. The main verb-form is identical with that required for the negative non-past Conditional.

Examples (the negative past Conditional verb-form underlined):

yáfí bì kékòl yà:néi, wèn ímà: ké ò:fí plòká
if-you-should noise you-made-not, child the have he-should-not wake up
'If you had not made^a noise, the child would not have woken up'

yáfi bì lîpé:lá yǎ:fài, yèjô yébé yéfi yèbúwè ké
if-they-should grass they-wedded-not, yams their if-they should
they-spoilt have
'If they had not weeded the grass, their yams would have been ruined'

Note the position of the nominal phrase complement in the negative clause: it comes between the two auxiliaries and the main verb.

4.1317 The Relative Clause Verb-Forms

There are two primary types of relative clause in Lòkóò, which we have labelled Relative Clause Type I and Type II. Each type is associated with distinct verb-forms and tone patterns.

4.13171 Relative Clause Type I

Morphology and Syntactic Function

The Relative Clause Type I is a relative clause in which a relative pronoun functions as complement of the clause. The relative pronoun always refers to a noun or pronoun immediately preceding it and with which it is in corcordant agreement, e.g. ònèn wé... 'the man who...', ètēn yé... 'the animal which...', kètí sè... 'the tree which...'.

When this type of relative clause occurs with a positive polarity, the following verb-forms and tone patterns are observed:

- (a) If the verb in the clause is a high-tone verb, the verbal prefix is marked by a long high tone and the verb-stem by low tone only, except when the verb-form has a non-pronominal prefix, in which case the verb-stem bears high tone only.
- (b) If the verb in the clause is a low-tone verb, and the verb-form is of the 1st, 2nd or 3rd person singular, the verbal prefix bears a high-low glide and monosyllabic verb-stems are marked by a low-high glide, disyllabic verb-stems by a low tone followed by a high tone, and trisyllabic verb-stems by a sequence of two low tones followed by a high tone.

When the verb-form has a non-pronominal prefix, the prefix is marked by a long high tone, and the verb-stem bears low tone only.

It should be noted that if the verb-form is of the 1st or 2nd person plural, it does not occur with a prefix: instead the person prefix is replaced by the self-standing pronoun of that person, followed by a verb-stem which is always marked by low tone.

The position of the self-standing pronoun of the 1st or 2nd person plural is between the relative pronoun and the verb. This position is also taken by any self-standing personal pronoun or any noun that may function as subject of the clause. All nouns or self-standing personal pronouns occurring in this position and functioning as subject of the clause manifest modifications of their tone pattern in isolation, as the following table shows:

Tone Pattern in Isolation			Tone Pattern in the Relative Clause		
Prefix	Stem	Example	Prefix	Stem	Example
low	low	ò-nèn 'person'	high-low	low	ô:-nèn
low	high	yà-dém 'men'	long high	low	yá:-dèm
		à-mí 'I'			á:-mì
		à-wú 'you' (sing)			á:-wù
low	high-low	lè-tâ: 'stone'	long high	low	lé:-tà:
low	low-high	è-tě́n 'animal'	high-low	low-high	ê:-tě́n
low	low-high	à-mǒn 'we'	long high	low	á:-mòn
		à-bǎ: 'you' (pl.)			á:-bà:
high	any tone	é-fém 'crocodile'			
			long high	no	é:-fém
	pattern	ŋ-wè 'he'		change	ŋ:-wè
		m-bè 'they'			m:-bè

It may be useful to illustrate this description in detail, since the Tables A₂ and A₄ given above cover only the tone patterns of the 3rd person plural verb-forms.

(i) High-Tone Verb-Forms in Relative Clause Type I (Positive):

êšâu yé ŋ:-kè:, êšâu yé á:-môn kè:
 'the fish which I saw...', 'the fish which we saw...'
 gbángbân wé á:-fâkì; gbángbân wé á:-bâ: fâkì
 'the basin which you rinsed...', 'the basin which you rinsed...'
 lîbó jé ó:-bè:yí; lîbó jé yá:-nèn yá:-bé:yí
 'the place where he stood...'. 'the place where the people stood...'

(ii) Low-Tone Verb-Forms in Relative Clause Type I (Positive):

bõŋ wé ŋ:-jěi; bõŋ wé á:-môn jěi
 'something that I said...' 'something that we said...'
 ŋwènè yé â:-yèlî; ŋwènè yé á:-bâ: yèlî
 'the book which you read...', 'the book which you read...'
 kě: bõŋ wé ô:-tètèlěi; kě: bõŋ wé yá:-tètèlèi
 'Look at how he is wandering about...' 'Look at how they are wandering about'

When this type of relative clause occurs with a negative polarity, the following verb-forms and tone sequences are observed:

The verb consists of two verbal words: an auxiliary and a main verb.

The auxiliary -bî behaves exactly like a high-tone main verb in terms of its shape and tone pattern, i.e. its prefix is marked by a long high tone and the verb-stem by low tone, except when the verb-form has a non-pronominal prefix, in which case the verb-stem carries high tone. The prefix is replaced by á:-môn or á:-bâ: when the auxiliary verb-form is of the 1st or 2nd person plural, respectively.

The shape and tone pattern of the main verb are identical with the main verb-form of the negative non-past Conditional, described in the

second paragraph under section 4.13161.

Examples (the negative Relative Clause Type I verb-form underlined):

kòkâ: ké m:-bì ñ:-ké:; kòkâ: ké á:-mòn bì yò:-ké:
'the crab which I didn't see...', 'the crab which we didn't see...'

bòŋ wé á:-bì ă:-kèbì; bòŋ wé á:-bà bì yă:-kèbì
'something which you didn't spoil...' ; 'something which you didn't
spoil...'

kébébé sè ó:-bì ò:-yéńí; kébébé sè yá:-bí yà:-yéńí
'the status which he hasn't got...'; 'the status which they haven't got..

létà jé ó:-bì ǒ:-fòŋì; létà jé yá:-bí yă:-fòŋì
'the letter which he didn't write...'; 'the letter which they didn't
write...'

4.13172 Relative Clause Type II

Morphology and Syntactic Function

The Relative Clause Type II is a relative clause in which the relative pronoun functions as subject of the clause. As in the Relative Clause Type I, the relative pronoun always refers to a noun or pronoun immediately preceding it and with which it is in concord agreement.

When the Relative Clause Type II occurs with a positive polarity, the following verb-forms and tone sequences are observed:

- (i) The verbal prefix occurs always marked by a low tone.
- (ii) The verb-stem of high-tone verbs is always marked by high tone.
- (iii) Low-Tone verb-stems are marked tonally as follows:

monosyllabic verb-stems carry a low-high glide,
disyllabic verb-stems a low tone followed by a high one, and
trisyllabic verb-stems a sequence of two low tones followed by a
high one.

Examples (positive Relative Clause Type II verb-forms underlined):

bèn bés yà-tó: lòbés ñwènè yǎ:kòu

'children who they-cry school they-will-not-go

'Children who cry a lot will not go to school'

bèn bés yà-sǒ: yìkpò ñwènè yǎ:kòu

'Children who are troublesome will not go to school'

bèn bés yà-wòmáí ñwènè yǎ:kòu

'Children who shout will not go to school'

When the Relative Clause Type II occurs with a negative polarity, the verb-form consists of two verbal words: the auxiliary -bì and a main verb-form.

The auxiliary is marked by a low toneme on the prefix, and a high toneme on the stem.

The main verb-form is identical with the main verb-form of the negative non-past Conditional (cf. second paragraph in section 4.13161).

If the clause contains a complement, it occurs between the auxiliary and the main verb-form.

Examples (negative Relative Clause Type II verb-forms underlined):

àmí wé ì-bí lòbés h:tó: 'I, who didn't cry...'

àmón bés yò-bí bés yò:-ké: 'we, who didn't see them...'

èsǎ:mā yé è-bí ě:-mènì 'the corn which didn't germinate...'

kètí sés kè-bí lìwǎ: kè:-tó: nè kébés ké

tree which it-... leaves it-has-not will it-dies has

'A tree which has no leaves will soon die'

Relative Clause Type II verb-forms may also occur in clauses which do not appear, at first sight, to be relative clauses, e.g.

òkǎ:lán ò-wú:yí dós è:tó ídà:

white man he-lives in house other

'It is a white man who lives in the other house'

àmí ń-fàfàwáí lîpé:lá

I I-am-weeding grass

'I, and no-one else, am weeding the grass'

mbè yà-kù:yí kèblê:

they they-are-going farm

'It is they who are going to the farm'

A further examination reveals, however, that these sentence structures are elliptical constructions and that their full form includes an introductory nuclear clause on which the Relative Clause Type II verb-forms given above (underlined) basically depend. When the above three sentences are fully expanded, it becomes evident that the clauses in which the Relative Clause Type II verb-forms occur are indeed subordinate clauses of the Relative Clause Type II model, as illustrated below (Relative Clause Type II underlined):

ódé òká:lán ńwè ò-wú:yí dè è:tó ídà:

'It is a white man who lives in the other house'

ódé àmí ń-fàfàwáí lîpé:lá

'It is I who am weeding the grass'

ódé mbè yà-kù:yí kèblê:

'It is they who are going to the farm'

The elliptical construction occurs quite frequently in the language.

A minor type of Relative Clause verb structure which is not given in the Tables occurs when a noun or pronoun qualified by a relative clause realizes a sentence-initial position and the noun or pronoun, together with the clause, functions as complement of the main clause. A description of this clause structure and examples are given in paragraph 3 of section 4.12.

4.132 Compound Verb-Forms

Compound verb-forms may be positive or negative, as illustrated by Tables C and D.

The syntactic functions of the various compound verb-forms are **basically** identical with corresponding simple verb-forms. Compound Aorist verb-forms, for instance, primarily express a simple or definite action or situation in the past, just as simple Aorist verb-forms do. There would, therefore, appear to be no need to describe here again the syntactic functions of compound verbs.

However, there is need to describe the morphology of compound verb-forms, particularly those whose main verbs have not been given along with the auxiliaries in the Tables and which are marked by important differences in shape and tone pattern between verb-forms with a non-pronominal prefix and, for instance, the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person, singular, verb-forms, as in the case of the Relative Clause Type I verb-forms.

4.1321 The Compound Imperative Verb-Form

The positive compound imperative verb-forms are as given in the Tables C₁ and C₃. When the imperative verb-form is singular, bà: or bǎ: is omitted. Thus, 'fell another tree' when one person is being addressed is translatable by yéní à-sé: kètí.

As for the negative compound imperative verb-form, note that the main verb occurs without a prefix, the Neutral verb-stem being present to complete the verb-form. Tables D₁ and D₃ provide many examples.

4.1322 The Compound Aorist and Perfective Verb-Forms

In positive clauses, compound Aorist and Perfective verb-forms have

different auxiliary verb-stem tone patterns, which are clearly marked in Tables C₁ and C₃. This difference is non-existent in negative compound Aorist and Perfective verb-forms, hence the placing of the two verb-forms under one column in Tables D₁ and D₃.

The Neutral verb-form of the main verb is entirely dependent upon whether the verb-form has a pronominal or non-pronominal prefix. Verb-forms occurring with a pronominal prefix or with the 3rd person, singular, prefix O- automatically take the Neutral Type II verb-form. But verb-forms that occur with a non-pronominal prefix (excluding the 3rd person, singular, prefix) take the Neutral Type I verb-form. The following examples make the description of the compound Aorist and Perfective verb-forms, as given in the Tables, clearer.

(i) Positive Compound Aorist Verb-Forms requiring a Neutral Type I main verb-form:

yá-yéní yá-sé: kètí 'They felled another tree'

yá-dùkè yá-sé: kètí 'They felled a tree instead'

yá-yéní yá-nònà lújí 'They cooked food again'

yá-dùkè yá-nònà lújí 'They cooked food instead'

(ii) Positive Compound Aorist Verb-Forms requiring a Neutral Type II main verb-form:

ŋ-yéní ŋ-sé: kètí 'I felled another tree'

á-dùkè à-sé: kètí 'you felled a tree instead'

ó-yéní ò-nònà lújí 'he cooked food again'

yó-dùkè yò-nònà lújí 'we cooked food instead'

yá-dùkè yà-nònà lújí 'you (pl.) cooked food instead'

(iii) Positive Compound Perfective Verb-Forms requiring a Neutral Type I main verb-form:

yá-yéní yá-sé: ké kètí 'they have felled a tree again'

yá-dùkè yá-nònà ké lújí 'they have cooked food instead'

(iv) Positive Compound Perfective Verb-Forms requiring a Neutral Type

II main verb-form:

ḡ-yéní ḡ-sé: ké kètí símà:

'I have felled another tree'

yá-yéní yá-sé: ké kètí símà:

'you have felled another tree'

Similar principles apply in the case of negative compound Aorist and Perfective verb-forms, as the following examples show:

kètí yà:-yéní yá-sé:

'They did not fell another tree'

lújí yǎ:-dùkè yá-nònà

'They did not cook food instead'

kètí ḡ:-yéní ḡ-sé:

'I did not fell another tree'

lújí yǎ:-dùkè yá-nònà

'You did not cook food instead'

ké kètí yà:-yéní yá-sé:

'They have not felled another tree'

ké kètí yá:-yéní yá-sé:

'You have not felled another tree'

4.1323 The Compound Neutral Verb-Forms

The morphology of compound Neutral verb-forms is best illustrated rather than described, since we now know that verb-forms with non-pronominal prefixes (except the 3rd person, singular, prefix) occur in Neutral Type I verb-forms, while verb-forms with pronominal prefixes and the 3rd person, singular, prefix occur in Neutral Type II verb-forms. Examples of Compound Neutral Type I verb-forms, as derived from Tables

C₂, C₄, D₁ and D₃.

(i) Compound Neutral Type I Verb-Forms:

yànèn bímà: nè yá-yénì yá-sé: yètí
'The people will fell trees again'

yànèn bímà: nè yá-dùkè yá-nònà lújí
'The people will cook food instead'

yànèn bímà: nè yá-dùkè yá-kánì yá-nònà lújí
'The people will soon cook food instead'

yànèn bímà: yètí yǎ:-yènì yá-sé:
'The people will not fell trees again'

yànèn bímà: yètí yǎ:-dùkè yá-kánì yá-sé:
'The people will not fell trees immediately instead'

(ii) Compound Neutral Type II Verb-Forms, according to Tables C₂, C₄,

D₁ and D₃:

yó-bè: èmèn, yò-yénì yò-sé: yètí
'We cut bamboos and also felled trees'

yá-bè: èmèn, yà-dùkè yà-fúkà yé mǎ:
'You cut bamboos and gathered them here instead'

ó-bè: èmèn, mǎ: yé ǒ:-dùkè ò-fúkà
'He cut bamboos and did not gather them here instead'

4.1324 The Compound Conditional Verb-Forms

(i) Examples of the Non-Past Conditional Verb-Forms:

yǎ:-yénì yá-tó: lǒbè... 'If they cry again...'

ǎ:-yénì á-kòì èkàpón... 'If you grind the pepper again...'

yǎ:-bí lǒbè yǎ:-yénì yá-tó: 'If they don't cry again...'

yǎ:-bí lǒbè yǎ:-dùkè yá-tó: 'If they don't cry instead...'

(ii) Examples of the Past Conditional Verb-Forms:

yá-fí yènì yá-tó: lǒbè 'If they cried again...'

ó-fí dùkè ó-tó: lòbó 'If she cried instead...'

yá-fí bì lòbó yà:-tó: 'If you had not cried...'
'If they had not cried...'

yá-fí bì mà: yà:-kání yá-yè: 'If you had not come in time...'
'If they hadn't come in time...'

These examples follow the verb-forms in Tables C₂, C₄, D₂ and D₄.

4.1325 The Compound Relative Clause Verb-Forms

As already described under simple Relative Clause Verb-Forms, the Neutral Verb-form required for the main verb depends on the prefix person of the verb-form, 1st and 2nd person, singular and plural, and 3rd person singular verb-forms, requiring the Neutral Type II main verb-form, and verb-forms with non-pronominal prefixes taking the Neutral Type I main verb-form.

(i). Examples of the Compound Relative Clause Type I Verb-Form:

(a) Requiring the Neutral Type I main Verb-form:

kètí sɔ́ yá'-yéní yá-sé:
'the tree which they felled again...'

yònéńń bɔ́ yá:-dùkè yá-něń
'the work which they did instead...'

(b) Requiring the Neutral Type II main verb-form (cf. section 4.13152):

kètí sɔ́ ń:-yèńí ń-sé:
'another tree which I felled...'

yònéńń bɔ́ á:món dùkè yò-něń...
'the work which we did instead...'

These verb-forms occur in positive relative clauses of Type I.

In negative relative clauses of this type (i.e. Type I) the occurrence of the 'negativizing' -bì auxiliary is optional. When it is present in

the verb-form, the main verb takes the form of the Neutral Type I or Type II, depending on whether the verbal prefix is non-pronominal or pronominal respectively, e.g.

kètí sɛ́ yá:-bí yà:-yéńí yá-sɛ́:

'the tree which they did not fell again...'

kètí sɛ́ ɲ:-bí ɲ:-yéńí ɲ-sɛ́:

'the tree which I did not fell again...'

But when it is absent, the main verb takes the form of a low-tone negative Aorist Verb-Form, e.g.

lújí jé yá:-yéńí yǎ:-jǐ

'the food which they did not eat again...'

lújí jé ɲ:-yéńí ǎ:-jǐ

'the food I did not eat again...'

Both negative Relative Clause Type I verb-forms have the same meaning and occur in the same contexts, but the verb-form without the 'negativizing' -bí is more frequently used.

(ii) Examples of the Compound Relative Clause Type II Verb-Form:

(a) Requiring a Neutral Type I main verb-form:

lújí jé lò-yéńí ló-tò ké lò:sè

'the food which fell on the floor again...'

kòtàn ké kò-yéńí kó-túkèi

'the roof which is leaking again...'

(b) Requiring the Neutral Type II main verb-form:

àmí wé ɲ-yéńí ɲ-jí lújí jíà:

'I who ate the food again...'

ɲwè wé ò-túm ò-sò líjà

'He who quarrels too much...'

In negative relative clauses of Type II, the main verb takes the

form of a low-tone negative Aorist verb-form, e.g.

kòtèn ké kò-yéní kǒ:tùkè

'the roof, which did not leak again...'

àmí wé ñ-yéní lújí jímà: ñ:-jì

'I who did not eat that food again...'

4.133 REDUPLICATION IN VERBS

The meaning of verbs may be intensified by the reduplication of the initial syllable of the verb-stem. Verb-forms whose initial verb-stem syllables are already reduplicated cannot be further reduplicated.

Examples

yá-kó:mí lújí 'They are waiting for food'

yá-kókó:mí lújí 'They are still waiting for food'

è:té ímà: ɔ̀tɔ̀: òkpé ké áduúduńí

'The old man fell and bruised his knees'

è:té ímà: ɔ̀tɔ̀tɔ̀: òkpékpé ké áduúduńí

'The old man fell so badly that he bruised all his knees'

In compound verbs, auxiliaries as well as main verbs may be reduplicated:

yâ:bí mǎ: yǎ:yè:, nè mblê: ké

'If they don't come, I shall go away'

yâ:bí**bí** mǎ: yǎ:yè:, nè mblê: ké

yâ:bí mǎ: yǎ:yèyè:, nè mblê: ké

'If they still don't come, I shall go away'

yâ:bí**bí** mǎ: yǎ:yèyè:, nè mblê: ké

'If they still haven't come now, I shall go away'

4.2. MOOD

Mood is a feature of the clause which is reflected by the verb-form.

In Lòkéé, three moods are clearly distinguishable: the Imperative, the

Indicative and the Conditional. The Aorist, the Neutral Type I and Type II, and the Relative Clause verb-forms are all considered as Indicative mood verb-forms. But the subject requires further investigation.

4.3. VERBAL ASPECTS

Verbs in Lòkóò have four aspects:

(i) The Continuative, which expresses primarily an action or a situation that is still going on or an uncompleted or habitual action or situation, e.g.

ŋ-kù:yì ñwènè 'I am going to school'

(ii) The Non-Actual or Future, which expresses an incomplete action or situation or an action or a situation that will take place sometime in the future, e.g.

nè ŋ-kòu ñwènè 'I shall go to school'

(iii) The Aorist, which expresses primarily a simple or definite action or situation that has taken place in the past e.g.

ŋ-kòì ñwènè 'I went to school'

(iv) The Perfective, which expresses an action or a situation that has taken place in the immediate past the effects of which are still present, e.g.

ŋ-kòu ké ñwènè 'I have gone to school'

This ground has already been covered in greater detail in the course of our description of the syntactic functions of the various verb-forms.

4.4. POLARITY

Polarity is a feature of the clause which is realized not only through

the order of words in the clause but also through the positive or negative form of the verb (as illustrated in Tables A - D). As earlier described in the morphology of the verb-forms, positive verb-forms usually have a high-tone main verb prefix, and negative verb-forms a long low-tone or a low-high main verb prefix. Examples:

Positive:

ŋ-kókówéi blǒŋ. 'I am washing clothes'

ìsén ŋ-kòì kèblê: 'I went to the farm yesterday'

Negative:

blǒŋ ŋ:-kókówéi 'I am not washing clothes'

ìsén kèblê: ŋ:-kòì 'I did not go to the farm yesterday'.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE PHRASE UNIT

5.0 Introduction

The primary function of the phrase is as an element of the clause.

On the criterion of their structure, phrases may be divided into two primary classes: verbal and non-verbal. Verbal phrases must include a verb-form in their basic structure, while non-verbal phrases do not include a verb-form in their basic structure.

Following this distinction between the two classes of the phrase unit, we propose to divide the chapter into two parts. Part I will examine the non-verbal phrase, while the verbal phrase will be the subject of Part II.

PART I

5.1 THE NON-VERBAL PHRASE

On the basis of their function, two subclasses of the non-verbal phrase are distinguished: nominal and adverbial (or adjunctive).

5.11 The Nominal Phrase

(a) Function

The nominal phrase (abbreviated NP) functions primarily as

Subject in the clause.

It also has a secondary function as a rankshifted unit at phrase rank as follows:

- (i) as complement in the verbal phrase (section 5.222):
 - (ii) as an element in complex nominal phrases (section 5.112).
 - (iii) as the sole element of an adverbial phrase (section 5.1212).
 - (iv) as an element in the structure of an adverbial phrase (section 5.122).
- (b) Structure

Nominal phrases may be simple, complex or compound on the basis of their structure.

5.111 The Simple Nominal Phrase

The simple nominal phrase has only one element functioning as head. This element may be a noun (N), a pronoun (Pn.) or a self-standing adjective (Adj), possessive (Poss.), numeral (Num.), demonstrative (Dem.), or interrogative (Int).

Examples

Noun Head: ètòm ódó kòyú:
 N N

'Life is a perpetual struggle'

Pronoun Head: íwè òfúní kên mà:
 Pn.

'He is the one coming over there'

Self-standing Adjective: kèdó-kèdó ñ:wói (kètí 'seat' as noun referent)

Adj.

'I don't want another seat'

Self-standing Possessive: ñkè kè só kēmì (kètí 'seat' as noun referent)

Poss.

'I have seen mine'

Self-standing Numeral: sàná kédúkè kěyâ: mã: (kètí as noun referent)

Num.

'There is one already'

Self-standing Demonstrative: símà: kébùwè kè (kètí as noun referent)

Dem.

'That one is broken'

Self-standing Interrogative: yépân á:wò:yì (yètí 'seats' as noun referent)

Int.

'How many do you want?'

5.112 The Complex Nominal Phrase

Complex nominal phrases are of five types according to their structure.

5.1121 Type I consists of a simple nominal phrase noun head (NH) immediately followed by a noun which is not a proper-name and which is occurring in a form marked by the post-radical morpheme -á (cf. section 3.3122)

Examples

lèwì è:plá-á 'market day'

NH N marked by post-radical -á
 NP

day for market

lòsè yè:jó-á 'soil suitable for planting yams'

NH N marked by post-radical -á
NP
soil for yams

5.1122 Type 2 consists of a nominalized verb-stem functioning as a simple nominal phrase noun head and obligatorily requiring either a rankshifted nominal phrase functioning as complement (C_{NP}) or a rankshifted adverbial phrase (AP).

Examples.

kèblô: kèkǒi 'going to farm'

C_{NP} NH
NP

farm going

kèyǎ: mǎ: kèwù 'your arrival'

NH AP Modifier
NP

arriving there your

Note that in the first example, the C_{NP} always precedes the NH, and in the second example, the NH always precedes the AP and seems to require an attributive possessive to complete its meaning.

5.1123 Type 3 consists of a simple nominal phrase noun head immediately followed by a genitive construct requiring the presence of another noun preceded by a concordant relator.

Examples.

ètó yé ó:bòl 'the chief's house'

NH Rel. N
NP

house of chief

blǒŋ bɛ́ ǒ:bɔŋɛ́ 'Obɔŋɛ's things'

NH Rel. N
NP

things of Obɔŋɛ

Note that the noun preceded by the relator occurs with a prefix marked by a long high tone and a low tone over the stem initial syllable (cf. section 3.3272).

5.1124 Type 4 may be divided into two sub-types: 4A and 4B. Sub-type 4A consists of the plural relator bɛ́ followed by a proper-name or such family 'titles' as ùwɔu 'my father', m̀m̀kà 'my mother' etc.

Examples.

bɛ́ ǒ:bɛ̀tèn 'people called Obeten'

bɛ́ ù:wɔu 'our fathers'

Note that in this structure the relator lengthens the prefix syllable of the following noun but does not affect the tone pattern of the noun in isolation.

Sub-type 4B consists of a self-standing genitive construct requiring the presence of a concordant relator and a proper-name or family 'title'.

Examples.

(bǒŋ) wɛ́ ǒ:bɛ̀tèn 'Obeten's (thing)'

(ɛ̀tɔ́) yɛ́ ú:wɔu 'my father's (house)'

This NP sub-type differs from NP type 3 by the obligatory absence of

the noun antecedent with which the relator is in concord agreement.

5.1125 And Type 5 consists of a simple nominal phrase noun head immediately followed by a comparative construct requiring the presence of the comparative 'particle' (Part.), á:, and a rankshifted nominal phrase (rsNP) or a rankshifted clause (rsCl.). Vowel elision does not take place at the juncture between the particle and words immediately preceding or following it which end or begin with a vowel respectively.

Examples

lītūn á: èyèu 'ears like an antelope's'

NH Part rsNP
 └──────────┘
 NP

ears like antelope

èbú á: yé Ó:mìnì 'goat like Omini's'

NH Part. rsNP
 └──────────┘
 NP

goat like Omini's (goat)'

òdém á: òné:yí yòtḙ:mì:nénén 'a man like a farm labourer'

NH Part. rsCl.
 └────────────────┘
 NP

man like he-is-doing farm-work

The normal function of this type of complex NP is as complement in the structure of a verbal phrase.

The constituents of the various types of the complex nominal phrase function as a single phrase unit.

5.113 The Compound Nominal Phrase

The compound nominal phrase consists of two or more simple or complex nominal phrases or a mixture of both joined together by a coordinator, (Cor.) òbɛ́ 'and' and functioning as a single phrase unit

Examples.

È:blá òbɛ́ Á:bú:sí jàŋ yǎ:wè:

N Cor. N
└───────────┘
NP

'Mr Dog and Mr Cat are never friends'

ŋwè òbɛ́ Ó:míní yáyè:lí ŋwènè

Pn Cor N
└──────────┘
NP

'He and Omini are reading'

símín òbɛ́ à:sídà:kédě: ò kè (kèjên 'yam' as noun referent)

Dem. Cor. Dem.
└──────────┘
NP

'I like this one and that one'

múbú yé Ó:míní òbɛ́ yò:nòn bé Ú:bàŋà yótùm yótáwà éplá.

Complex NP Cor. Complex NP
└──────────────────────────┘
NP

'Omini's goats and Ubaŋa's chickens are very expensive'

yòtétéú òbɛ́ lì:tè kètě: yésù:wá ò

Simple NP Cor Complex NP
└──────────────────┘
NP

'dancing and singing songs surpass you'

'You cannot dance or sing'

Note that the word following òbó always occurs with a long prefix.

Note also that when a compound NP is functioning as Subject in a verbal clause, and the constituent simple NP heads are realized by words belonging to different nominal classes, the prefix of the verb is in concord agreement either with the concord class 6a 'cover term' blǒŋ 'things' as in the last example above, or with the word functioning as NP head nearest the verbal prefix as in the last but one example.

5.114 Nominal Phrase Modifiers

The term 'modifier' is used here to cover all attributive elements which may 'modify' the head of a nominal phrase by manifesting concord agreement with it. Grammatically, the simple, complex or compound nominal phrases described above are equally optionally modified by one or more attributive elements or 'modifiers'. These modifiers are:

- (i) the attributive possessive (3.323).
- (ii) the attributive demonstrative (3. 325).
- (iii) the adjective (3. 322).
- (iv) the attributive numeral (3. 321).
- (v) the relative clause

However, only the noun heads of simple nominal phrases are frequently expanded by more than one modifier. The heads of complex and compound nominal phrases as well as of simple nominal phrases of self-standing adjectives, possessives, numerals, demonstratives and inter-

rogatives scarcely occur with modifiers. And no examples of pronoun heads have been recorded cooccurring with attributive elements besides attributive possessives and numerals and relative clauses.

Modifiers, when they occur together, normally follow their head without interruption in linear position in relation to each other in the order in which they are listed above. All the five attributive elements may modify one single noun head.

Example.

blǒŋ yéwé bímà: yèpé-yèpé yèpǒ: bḥ yèkó:lí yébi:lḥ ké

NH Poss. Dem. Adj. Num. Rel.Cl.

NP

things his those new two which they-are-rēd they-have-been soiled

'Those two new red clothes of his are dirty'

However, with one exception, this ordering of attributive elements can be altered quite easily without changing the 'general' meaning of the nominal phrase - 'general', because the ordering of any particular set of modifiers is governed by the principle that the nearer an attributive element is to its head the stronger the bond linking its meaning to that of the head. For instance, it is just as correct to say

yānēn yāpǒ: bḥ yākó:lí 'two light-complexioned people '

NH Num Rel.Cl.

as yānēn bḥ yākó:lí yāpǒ:

NH Rel.Cl. Num.

The only possible difference in meaning between the two versions is that the first nominal phrase places more emphasis on the number of people than on their colour, while the second emphasizes the complexion of the people more than their number. But this change of emphasis is usually not significant enough to make any marked difference in meaning between one ordering of attributive elements and another.

The exception referred to earlier concerns the order in which the attributive possessive and demonstrative may follow a single noun head. The attributive possessive always precedes the attributive demonstrative. Thus, it is correct to say

bèn yámì bímā: 'those children of mine'

NH Poss. Dem.

but incorrect to reverse the order of the modifiers.

5.12 The Adverbial Phrase.

(a) Function

The adverbial phrase (abbreviated AP) normally functions rank-shifted as an element in the structure of the verbal phrase. It may also function as an element of the clause.

(b) Structure

Adverbial phrases may be divided into two main types:

- (i) simple adverbial phrases consisting of only one word;
- (ii) complex adverbial phrases requiring the presence of a locational, temporal or comparative 'particle' which is followed by a noun optionally

expanded by modifiers.

5.121 Simple Adverbial Phrases

These may be divided into four sub-types: locative adverbs, temporal adverbs, adverbs of manner and ideophones.

5.1211 Single-Word Locative Adverbs.

These include adverbs such as mǎ: 'here'; dǎ:, kǎ: 'over there' (cf. section (3.32611)).

5.1212 Single-Word Temporal Adverbs

These comprise rankshifted one-word nominal phrases functioning as adverbs, e.g.

ɔ̀bǎsɛ̀ nè ɔ̀tè: kédó:wé

rain it-will-rain in the evening

'Rain will fall in the evening'

yáwɔ̀nǐ ísén

'They returned yesterday'

5.1213 Single-Word Adverbs of Manner

These include such words as épál-è:pál 'quickly'; kǎ:ní 'exceedingly'.

5.1214 Ideophones

These comprise such words as gbǐm 'sound made by the fall of a heavy object'; dùt 'sound made by the fall of a soft object'.

5.122 Complex Adverbial Phrases

Adverbial phrases requiring the presence of a 'particle' and a rankshifted nominal phrase may be classified as locational, temporal or comparative.

5.1221 Complex Locational Adverbial Phrases

These are introduced by three 'particles': kế, dế and mế and followed by nouns designating places.

Examples

Ọ̀bàsè wé ọ̀yáú kế kà:wón 'God who is in heaven'

bàná kẹ̀kòṅ símà: dế lẹ̀:sẹ 'Place that knife on the floor'

mế à:bó: ímìn ńmẹ́ ẹ̀:wù:yì 'I live in this place'

There is practically no semantic difference between the three particles, mế is rather rare and is often accompanied by a pointing gesture. kế and dế are interchangeable, but kế is more commonly used.

Note that the prefix of any noun preceded by a locational particle is marked by a long low tone, and this irrespective of what that tone is in the isolate form of the noun. For instance, the prefix tone of the noun lẹ̀kpálà 'nest' is a high toneme, but it becomes a long low tone when the noun occurs preceded by a locational particle, thus

kế lẹ̀:kpálà jé yí:nòn
'in the nest of a bird'

5.1222 Complex Temporal Adverbial Phrases

A complex temporal adverbial phrase consists of a 'particle' and a temporal noun optionally expanded by one or more attributive elements. Three particles may occur in temporal adverbial phrases. These are: kế, mế and tùtù.

Examples

yê: mã: kế ñ:kánfá ñpố: 'come at 2 o'clock'

nh yốwôn kế kè:dố:wế 'we shall return in the evening'

ánố:yí bôn mế kè:póm sìmả?

'What are you doing so early in the morning?

kốmm tùtù kò:wế 'wait for me until tomorrow'

There is hardly any difference in meaning between kế and mế, but mế is rather infrequently used. When a temporal noun functioning in an adverbial phrase is modified by an attributive demonstrative, the presence of mế, rather than kế, is required to introduce the phrase, e.g.

mế kè:bê: sìmả: 'at that time'

Note that the prefix of the noun following kế or mế is marked, as in the case of complex locational adverbial phrases, by a long low tone whatever its tone in the isolate form of the noun, thus

/kếplákhôn/ → kế kè:plákhôn

'afternoon' 'in the afternoon'

tùtù 'until' is quite different from kế and mế both in form and meaning. It also has no effect on the tone pattern of the noun follow-

ing it in an adverbial phrase, e.g. tùtù képlákòn 'until in the afternoon'

5.1223 Comparative Adverbial Phrases

The comparative adverbial phrase consists of the particle á: followed by a noun optionally expanded by one or more attributive elements.

Examples

ónéi kòyũ: á: èkpè

he-did fighting like leopard

'He fought like a leopard'

ójí bǒŋ á: èbla yé yó:wà yó:yù: ká:ní

he-ate thing like dog which hunger it-fought very much

'He ate like a very hungry dog'

As in the Type 3 complex NP where a comparative particle occurs, no vowel elision takes place here at the juncture between the comparative particle and adjacent words.

PART II

5.2 THE VERBAL PHRASE

(a) Function

The verbal phrase (abbreviated VP) functions as predicate in the clause.

(b) Structure

A verbal phrase consists of a predicator (Pr) either alone or with one or more of the following elements: pre-verb modifier (M prevb) auxiliary (Aux.), post-verb modifier (M postvb), nominal phrase complement (CNP) and adjunct.

Examples

òbàsè ótè:yì

Pr as VP

rain it-is-falling

'It is raining'

bèn-dám yáfú lújí

Pr CNP
└─────────┘
VP

young-men they-come food

'Young men always have a good appetite'

òsèn ówù tè óbì:óyè: dé è:tó émì

Mprevb Aux Pr Adjunct
└──────────────────┘
VP

guest your let he-later he-come to house my

'Bring your guest round to my house later'

bànèn bímà: nè yámù yákpè: èsàù ébé épál-è:pál

Mprevb Aux Pr CNP Adjunct
└──────────────────────────┘
VP

women the will they-later they-sell fish their quickly

'The women will sell their fish quickly later'

lèwì lédùkó lébí:ló ké

Aux	Pr	Mpostvb
<div style="text-align: center;"> } VP </div>		

day it-already it-is-dark has

'It is night already'

5.21 Obligatory and Optional Elements of the Verbal Phrase

The predicator is an obligatory element of the verbal phrase in that all verbal phrases comprise a predicator in their structure.

When other verbal phrase elements occur, their presence in the verbal phrase is either obligatory or optional. Their presence is described as obligatory, when it is obligatorily required by the syntagmatic features of the verb realizing the predicator in the verbal phrase, and optional when it is not so required. This point will become clearer as we examine the syntactic or transitivity features of verbs.

5.211 The Syntactic Features of Verbs

Verbs in Lòkée may be divided into two broad classes: transitive and intransitive.

Transitive verbs are verbs that obligatorily require the presence in the verbal phrase of one or two nominal phrase complements.

Intransitive verbs are verbs that cannot take a nominal phrase complement.

5.2111 Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs may be ditransitive or non-ditransitive.

(a) Ditransitive Verbs

Ditransitive verbs are verbs that require the obligatory presence in the verbal phrase of two nominal phrase complements. A nominal phrase complement whose presence is obligatorily required by the transitivity feature of a verb is symbolized C_{NPO} .

Example

òkówè ímà: òkpéi bĕn bŏŋ

Pr C_{NPO} C_{NPO}
 VP

teacher the he-is-teaching children thing

'The teacher is teaching the children something'

A ditransitive verb may also be followed by one C_{NPO} , if a second C_{NPO} can easily be deduced from its context through semantic and syntactic considerations. In other words, a verb followed by one C_{NPO} and occurring in a context that does not readily supply a second C_{NPO} must be analysed as non-ditransitive.

In this regard, kpé (from which òkpéi, the verb-form in the pre-

ceding example, is derived) is an interesting verb. When it is ditransitive, it means 'teach', but when it is non-ditransitive, it means 'learn'. This means that whenever a form of *kpé* is followed by one *C_{NPO}*, its meaning is dependent upon whether or not the context can easily supply a second *C_{NPO}*. The following two sentences illustrate the point:

(a) òkówè ímà: ókpeí běn-běn

Pr *C_{NPO}*

(b) òkówè ímà: ókpeí bǒŋ

Pr *C_{NPO}*

The verb in sentence (a) is ditransitive and the sentence must therefore mean 'the teacher is teaching children', because the context makes it clear that the thing taught has been deliberately omitted in the verbal phrase. This conclusion is arrived at through the semantic consideration that 'to learn children' is an impossible expression in *Lòkésé*, and also through the syntactic consideration that in any context in which *kpé* is ditransitive, and the speaker wants to omit one *C_{NPO}*, it is the noun referring to the thing taught that is dropped rather than the noun referring to the person or persons taught. But sentence (b) has two possible meanings, although one of them is more probable than the other. The less probable meaning is 'The teacher is teaching something', less probable for the reasons already given above. If the speaker intended this meaning, the noun referring to the people taught would have been retained rather than *bǒŋ* which refers to the thing taught. The more likely meaning is 'The teacher is learning something' since, as the sentence stands, the second *C_{NPO}* cannot be easily deduced from the context. Because of the possibility of ambiguity as in example

(b), ditransitive verbs are always followed by two C_{NPO}'s, unless, when followed by one C_{NPO}, the context implies the 'presence' of a second C_{NPO} in an unmistakable way.

(b) Non-ditransitive Verbs

Non-ditransitive verbs are verbs that require the obligatory presence of only one nominal phrase complement, e.g.

dáu lègà 'laugh'

Pr C_{NPO}
VP

m:mâ: ìmâ: ótóí lòbé

Pr C_{NPO}
VP

'The woman is weeping'

yâdém bímâ: yákù:yì kèblê:

Pr C_{NPO}
VP

men the they-are-going farm

'The men are going to the farm'

yâwùsèl bímâ: nè yákòu ngbò:kòbí

Mprevb Pr C_{NPO}
VP

thieves the will they-go prison

'The thieves will go to prison'

Note that some verbs may only be followed by a C_{NPO} realized by a special noun. For instance, dáu and tó cannot take any other noun functioning as C_{NPO} except lègà 'laughter' and lòbè 'weeping' respectively, the verb and the special noun going together to form a single expression, i.e. 'to laugh' (literally 'to laugh laughter') and 'to weep' (literally 'to weep weeping') respectively.

Non-ditransitive verbs may be followed by two nominal phrase complements, one of which must be obligatory and the other optional. The C_{NP} whose presence in the verbal phrase is obligatorily required by the syntactic feature of the verb is marked as obligatory and once more symbolized C_{NPO} . The C_{NP} whose presence in the verbal phrase is a semantic rather than a syntactic requirement is marked as optional and symbolized C_{NPOP} .

Examples

yàdém bímà: yákù:yì òból-á kèblê:

$\underbrace{\text{Pr} \quad C_{NPOP} \quad C_{NPO}}_{VP}$

men the they-are-going for-chief farm

'The men are going to the farm for the chief'

È:pù òdú:yí Kèkpí-á lègà

$\underbrace{\text{Pr} \quad C_{NPOP} \quad C_{NPO}}_{VP}$

Monkey he-is-laughing at-Tortoise

'Monkey is laughing at Tortoise'

5.2112 Intransitive Verbs

Intransitive verbs may be divided into three subclasses:

(i) intransitive verbs that obligatorily require the presence in the verbal phrase of an adjunct, usually realized by a single-word locational phrase, e.g. *kên* 'here', *mâ:* 'here', *dâ:* 'there', *kâ:* 'over there'.

Examples

â:wóu ófúní kên

Pr Adjunct
└───┘
VP

your-father he-is-coming here

'Your father is coming'

òsèn ówù mǎ: ǒ:yè:

Adjunct.Pr
└───┘
VP

guest your here he-did-not-come

'Your guest did not come'

(ii) intransitive verbs that obligatorily require the presence of the post-verb realized by the clitic *ké*, e.g.

ètěn ímà: éblè: kè

Pr Mpostvb
└───┘
VP

animal the it-went has

'The animal has gone away'

(iii) intransitive verbs that constitute verbal phrases without obligatorily requiring the presence of other verbal phrase elements,

e.g.

bèn yáwé yátùn yákpól

Aux Pr
└────────┘
VP

children his they-very they-grow-tall

'His children are very tall'

èwì émáí

Pr as VP

'The sun is shining'

This description shows that the syntactic feature of the verb realizing the predicator in the verbal phrase is the key factor determining whether or not verbal phrase elements other than the predicator are obligatory or optional in the verbal phrase in which they occur. It shows that pre-verb modifiers and auxiliaries always occur as optional elements, while nominal phrase complements, the post-verb modifier and adjuncts are sometimes obligatorily, and sometimes optionally, present in the clause in which they occur, depending on the transitivity or intransitivity feature of the verb realizing the predicator in the verbal phrase.

5.22 Linear Ordering of the Elements of Structure of the Verbal Phrase

The order in which verbal phrase elements occur in positive clauses differs sometimes from that in negative clauses, as shown below.

5.221 The Predicator

In positive clauses, the predicator normally occurs verbal phrase initially immediately following the nominal phrase subject. (S_{NP}), if present, e.g.

lèwì-jèn lèpàkà ké
 S_{NP} Pr Mpostvb
 VP

sun it-broke has

'The sun has appeared'

The predicator may, however, be preceded in the structure of the verbal phrase by a pre-verb modifier or an auxiliary or both, when they are present in the verbal phrase, e.g.

lèwì-jèn nó lémùn lèpàkà
 S_{NP} Mprevb Aux Pr
 VP

sun will it-later it-breaks

'The sun will appear later'

In negative clauses, the predicator normally occurs as the final element in linear position in relation to the other verbal phrase elements present in the verbal phrase, e.g.

lèwì-jèn ké lě:pàkà
 S_{NP} Mpostvb Pr
 VP

'The sun has not appeared'

ɔ̀bàsɛ̀ íyà:sí õ:mùn ótə̀:
 S_{NP} Adjunct Aux Pr
 VP

rain today it-later it-falls

'It will not rain later today'

à:kà lújǐ níjěná ǒ:nǎn

S_{NP} C_{NPO} Adjunct Pr
VP

your-mother food yet she-cooked-not

'Your mother has not yet cooked food'

It is not uncommon, however, to find an adjunct occurring as the final verbal phrase element, and therefore coming after, instead of before, the verb in the negative clause, e.g.

lěwǐ lě:sǒ:wě níjěná

S_{NP} Pr VP

day it-is-not-dawn yet

'It is not yet dawn'

5.222 The Nominal Phrase Complement

The nominal phrase complement may be realized by a simple, complex or compound nominal phrase(cf. section 5.11).

A maximum of two nominal phrase complements may occur in a single verbal phrase.

When two nominal phrase complements occur in a verbal phrase, one complement normally 'suffers' the direct action of the verb,

while the other 'benefits' from the action of the verb. The complement 'suffering' the direct action of the verb (traditionally called 'direct object') is here labelled as 'direct complement' (Cdir.), and the complement 'benefiting' from the action of the verb (traditionally known as 'indirect object') is here called 'indirect complement' (Cindir.).¹

When a direct complement and an indirect complement occur together in a verbal phrase, and both are realized by two nouns (N) or two pronouns (Pn), the indirect complement always precedes the direct complement, e.g.

Kè:kpí ókèi Epù-á lújí
 S_{NP} Pr CindirN CdirN
 VP

Tortoise he-gave to-Monkey food

'Tortoise gave Monkey food'

Kè:kpí ókèi è jè
 S_{NP} Pr CindirPn CdirPn
 VP

Tortoise he-gave to-him (Monkey) it (food)

'Tortoise gave it to him'

This order is maintained when, in a verbal phrase containing two complements, the indirect complement is realized by a pronoun and the direct complement by a noun, e.g.

1. Direct complement and indirect complement refer to C_{NPO} and C_{NPOP}, respectively, already described above.

Kè:kpí ókèi è lújí
 S_{NP} Pr CindirPn CdirN
 VP

Tortoise he-gave to-him (Monkey) food

'Tortoise gave him food'

But when a direct complement and an indirect complement occur together in a verbal phrase, and the direct complement is realized by a pronoun while the indirect complement is realized by a noun, the direct complement realized by a pronoun precedes in linear order the indirect complement realized by a noun, e.g.

Kè:kpí ókèi jè Èpù-á
 S_{NP} Pr CdirPn CindirN
 VP

Tortoise he-gave it (food) to-Monkey

'Tortoise gave it to Monkey'

This order sometimes gives rise to ambiguity, since a sentence such as

èwì è:má:, kóì bẹ́ kẹ́ Òmìnì-á

may mean either 'If the sun shines, wash them for Omini' or 'If the sun shines, wash Omini for them'. In a case such as this, only the context can determine the appropriate meaning.

It should be noted that when a complement is realized by a proper-name, a title or the name of a personalized animal, the name or title bears the suffix -á, e.g.

ŋkè: ké Òmìnì-á ìwènè íwé
 Pr Mpostvb CindirNH CdirNH Mod
 VP

I-gave have to-Omini book his

'I have given Omini his book'

ŋkè: ké yàtè-á lèdè
 Pr Mpostvb CindirNH CdirNH
 VP

I-gave have to-his-father greeting

'I have greeted his father'

When a complement realized by a proper-name refers to another complement preceding it within the same verbal phrase, it does not bear the suffix -á and is referred to as a co-referential complement, e.g.

yódèi wèn ómò Kè:bê:
 Pr Cdir Cdir(coreferential)
 VP

we-call child our kébêe

'We call our son Kébêe'

A nominal phrase complement may be placed in front of a sentence and then simply referred to in the subsequent sentence by a pronoun without any other overt grammatical link. This is 'topicalization'. The construction is used to focus attention on the nominal phrase complement so topicalized, e.g.

bàněñ, ò:ból Ágbálángbá ɔ̀bɛ́: bɛ́ kɛ́ ń̀:katà ¹

women chief Agbalangba he-married them in baskets

'As for women, chief Agbalangba married them in baskets'

The topicalization construction may be used in both positive and negative clauses. But when this construction is not required, the nominal phrase complement occurs after the predicator in positive clauses, and before the predicator in negative clauses. And when there are two complements within a verbal phrase, they occur in the order already described in both positive and negative clauses.

Examples

Positive Clauses:

bàněñ bímà: yáku:yì kèblâ:

Pr Cdir
└──────────┘
VP

women those they-are-going farm

'Those women are going to the farm'

bàněñ bíkìn yánó:yí yàdém yábé lújí

Pr Cindir. Cdir
└──────────┘
VP

women these they-are-doing for-their-husbands food

'These women are preparing food for their husbands'

Negative Clauses:

bàněñ bímà: kèblâ: yă:kòì

Cdir Pr
└────────┘
VP

1. Text and translation adapted from Text A in the Appendix.

'Those women did not go to the farm'

bānēn bīkīn yādēm yābē lújí yā:néi
 Cindir. Cdir Pr
 VP

'These women did not prepare food for their husbands'

5.223 The Post-Verb Modifier

The post-verb modifier is realized by the perfective clitic ké. In positive clauses, it follows the predicator, but precedes it in negative clauses, e.g.

yānēn yānōmá ké
 S_{NP} Pr Mpostvb
 VP

people they-sat have

'People have sat down'

yānēn ké yā:nēm
 S_{NP} Mpostvb Pr
 VP

people have they-did-not-sit

'People have not sat down (yet)'

When the verbal phrase contains a nominal phrase complement realized by a pronoun, the pronoun complement always precedes the post-verb modifier in positive as well as in negative clauses, e.g

yádìbé yé ké
 Pr CdirPnH Mpostvb
 VP

it(dog) have they-caught :

'They have . caught it'

But the post-verb modifier precedes all nominal phrase complements realized by a noun, and all adjuncts not occurring sentence initially, both in positive and negative clauses, e.g.

yákè: ké Òmìnì-á èblá éwé íyà:sí
 Pr Mpostvb Cindir Cdir Adjunct
 VP

they-gave have to-Omini dog his today

'They have given Omini his dog today'

ké Òmìnì-á èblá éwé íyà:sí yă:kèi
 Mpostvb Cindir Cdir Adjunct Pr
 VP

'They have not given Omini his dog today'

má (lé:wì) lé:bém mà:, nè yákè: è ké èblá éwé
 Mprevb S_{NP} Pr Adjunct Mprevb Pr Cindir Mpostvb Cdir.
 VP VP

By(day) it-is this, will they-give to-him have dog his

'By now, they will have given him his dog'

5.224 The Auxiliary

The auxiliary always occurs immediately preceding the main

verb in positive and negative clauses, e.g.

bẻn-bẻn yátủm yáỉ bẻn
 S_{NP} Aux Pr C_{NP}
 VP

children they-much they-eat thing

'Children eat a lot'

yẻnỏ:-tẻm lủỉ yẻ:mủn yẻtẻwẻ
 S_{NP} C_{NP} Aux Pr
 VP

old-people food they-no-longer they-are-strong

'Old people do not eat much'

Note that there is no grammatical restriction on the number of auxiliaries that may occur together in one verbal phrase. However, there is a semantic restriction, and verbal phrases do not normally accommodate more than two auxiliaries.

5.225 The Adjunct

Adjuncts realized by an adverbial phrase of time usually occur either sentence initially or finally in both positive and negative clauses, e.g.

kỏ:wỏ kẻpỏm, bẻn bẻmẻ: nẻ yẻkỏu ẻwẻnẻ
 Adjunct S_{NP} Mprevb Pr C_{NP}
 VP

tomorrow-morning children the will they-go book

'Tomorrow morning, the children will go to school'

íyèñì, yè: mā: 'Come the day after tomorrow'

Adjunc. Pr Adjunct
 {
 VP

or

yè: mā: íyèñì 'Come the day after tomorrow'

Pr Adjunct Adjunct
 {
 VP

Note that when the adjunctive phrase of time occurs sentence initially, there is usually a short pause separating it from the rest of the sentence. This may be taken to indicate that emphasis is being placed on the adverbial phrase of time. At the same time, it would appear that the adjunct is now functioning as an element of the clause rather than rankshifted as an element of the verbal phrase.

When the adjunct is functioning rankshifted as an element of the verbal phrase, it always occurs verbal phrase finally in positive clauses, e.g.

ámǎn yóné:yí yònéñén yóbé épál-è:pál
 S_{NP} Pr C_{NP} Adjunct
 {
 VP

we we-are-doing work their quickly

'We are doing their work quickly'

yá,jí: bǒŋ á: mblá

Pr C_{NP} Adjunct
 {
 VP

they-eat thing like dogs

'They eat like dogs'

But when the adjunct is realized by a rankshifted adverbial phrase in a negative clause, it may occur either immediately before the verb (and the auxiliary, if present) or after the verb as the verbal phrase final element, e.g.

lèwì ńjèná lě:sò:wè
 S_{NP} Adjunct Pr
 VP

or

lèwì lě:sò:wè ńjèná
 S_{NP} Pr Adjunct
 VP

day it-is-not-morning yet

'It is not yet morning'

lòwí jímìn ká:ní lǒ:tùm lókú:mî
 S_{NP} Adjunct Aux. Pr
 VP

water the much it-very-not it-is-hot

'The water is not very hot'

5.3 Operation of Concord at the Phrase Level

At the phrase level, concord operates only within the nominal phrase, usually between the noun head and its attributive elements, the form of the prefix (where one exists) of the attributive element being determined by the concord class of the noun head, e.g.

ńwènè ímà: mpé-mpé 'that new book'

yànèn bímǎ: yà-pé-yà-pé 'those new people'

kě lè:sè lǒwù 'on your plot of land'

CHAPTER SIX

THE CLAUSE UNIT

6.0 The clause is the unit that operates in the structure of the sentence.¹ Clauses are usually delimited from each other by a pause juncture, which is symbolized by a comma in our transcription. The aim of this chapter is to describe the clause in terms of its elements of structure.

6.1. Clause Classes

To do this, two primary classes of the clause are set up: the verbal clause and the non-verbal clause.

6.1.1. The Verbal Clause

The verbal clause may be further specified as either free or bound.

(a) The free verbal clause is a clause that may function either in a simple sentence structure or in nuclear relation in a complex sentence structure.

Examples.

(i) Free verbal clause functioning in a simple sentence structure:

íyà:sí ódó éplá

'Today is a market day'

fú kên mîn 'Come here!'

yákó:mí bôn? 'What are you waiting for?'

(ii) Free verbal clause functioning in nuclear relation in a complex sentence structure (underlined):

yàdém bímà: yáyò: ké m̃, dó ínè yáññ yònóññ

men the they-come have here, so that they-may-do work

1. A clause may be rankshifted to operate in a unit lower than the sentence, e.g. the relative clause which functions at the phrase level (cf. chapter 5).

'The men have come to work'

ŋ:wòní ké, nə ŋkə ò dɛ ɛ:tɔ́ ɛwù

when I-return have, will I-see you at your house

'When I come back, I shall see you at your home'

(b) The bound verbal clause is a dependent clause which functions only in non-nuclear relation in a complex sentence structure and is optionally introduced by a conjunction.

Examples.

kǒm m̄, tùtù ɣwè ké lújí

wait-for me, until I-finish have food

'Wait for me, until I finish eating'

wèn ímà: óyè: mà: tè ónɛŋ yònénɛŋ

child the he-came here, so-that he-might-do work

'The boy came in order to work'

wèn ímà: óyè: mà:, ònɛŋ yònénɛŋ

'The boy came and worked'

6.12 The Non-Verbal Clause

The non-verbal clause is a clause which functions only in the structure of a simple sentence. It is usually a non-verbal question, a nominal of address, an elliptical answer to a question or any other similar rejoinder.

Examples.

ŋwɛ̀nɛ́ ɣwù kɪŋ?

book your where

'Where is your book?'

àwú kɪŋ? 'Where are you?'

In the following dialogue the non-verbal clauses are underlined:

A: Obétèn-ò (nominal of address)

B: Ǒ: (response to a call)

- A: áyè:lì bôŋ? 'What are you reading?'
B: ñwènè 'A book' (elliptical answer)
A: ñdà:lí òdádál? 'Is it interesting?'
B: éiyá 'Yes' (affirmative answer)

6.2. Elements of Clause Structure

6.21 Elements of Structure of Verbal Clauses

Although there may be differences in structure between free and bound verbal clauses and even between different types of free verbal clauses, there appears to be sufficient overlap in the structures of all free and bound verbal clauses for them to be analysed together under the following single structure:

+ Cl-Intro + Subj. + Pred. + Comp. + Adjunct

where + Cl-Intro. symbolizes the optional presence of a clause-introducer; + Subj. the optional presence of a self-standing element functioning as subject of the clause; + Pred. the obligatory presence of an element functioning as predicator of the clause; + Comp. the optional presence of an element functioning as complement in the clause; and + Adjunct the optional presence of an element functioning as adjunct in the structure of the clause.

We shall now consider the various types of free and bound verbal clauses and their corresponding elements of structure.

6.211 Elements of Structure of Free Verbal Clauses

Free verbal clauses may be divided into two sub-classes: hortative and non-hortative. Hortative clauses express either a command or a wish, but non-hortative clauses either affirm a fact or ask a question.

6.2111 Hortative Clauses

Hortative clauses may be sub-divided into imperative and non-imperative

clauses.

(a) The Imperative Hortative Clause

The imperative hortative clause is expounded by imperative clauses which display a two-term system of number: Singular and Plural.

(i) The Singular Imperative Clause

A singular imperative hortative clause is distinguished by the absence of a self-standing subject element and a predicator realized by a prefix-less verb-form, ¹ e.g.

<u>wəmmé</u>	<u>lìpé:lá</u>	'Cut the grass!'
predicator	complement	
cut	grass	
<u>nòmá</u>	<u>ké lǎ:sê</u>	'Sit on the floor!'
predicator	adjunct	
sit	on floor	

(ii) The Plural Imperative Clause

A plural imperative hortative clause is distinguished, on the other hand, by the presence of a self-standing subject (realized by the 2nd person, plural, pronoun bǎ: or bà: ²) and a predicator realized by a zero-prefix verb-form, e.g.

<u>bǎ:</u>	<u>wəmmé</u>	<u>lìpé:lá</u>	'Cut the grass!'
subject	predicator	complement	
you(pl.)	cut	grass	

-
1. The Predicator may evidently be realized by either a simple or complex verb (cf. chapter 4). But in this chapter, we are limiting our description and examples to predicators realized by simple verbs, in order not to encumber the description.
 2. The pronoun bears a L: tone when immediately followed by a high or high-low tone and a LH glide when followed by a low or low-high tone.

bǎ: nòmá ké lǒ:sê 'Sit on the floor!'
 subject predicator adjunct
 you(pl.) sit on floor

(iii) Basic Structure of Imperative Clauses

The order of elements in an imperative hortative clause is determined by the polarity of the clause.

In positive imperative hortative clauses of the singular number, the following order of elements applies:

+ Predicator + Complement(s) + Adjunct

Examples:

yǎn kúblènì kówù ké è:wì
 spread mat your in sunshine
 'Spread your mat in the sun!'

kpé bĕn-bĕn bǒŋ kèpóm-kèpóm
 teach children thing morning-morning
 'Teach the children in the mornings!'

In negative imperative hortative clauses of the singular number, the predicator, preceded by the negative particle ká, comes at the end of the clause, thus

+ complement(s) + Adjunct + ká + Predicator.

Examples.

bĕn-bĕn bǒŋ kédó:wé ká kpè
 Complement complement adjunct neg. predicator
 'Don't teach the children in the ^{part.} evenings!'

ké è:kpèl ká nòmá
 adjunct neg. part. predicator
 on chair don't sit
 'Don't sit on the chair!'

The order of elements of structure in positive imperative free verbal clauses of the plural number is as follows:

+ Subject + Predicator + Complement(s) + Adjunct

Examples

bǎ: yě̀n kúblènĩ kóbà kə è:wì
'Spread your mat in the sun!'

bǎ: nòmá kə ɲ:kpəl
'Sit on the chairs!'

In negative imperative hortative clauses of the plural number, the positive order of elements is modified by placing the predicator, preceded by ká, at the end of the clause, thus:

+ Subject + Complement(s) + Adjunct + ká + Predicator

Examples.

bǎ: ètĩ ká bàlĩ
you road don't cross
'Don't cross the road!'

bà: wé kòkũ: ká:nĩ ká tò
you him sympathy very much don't cry
'Don't feel too much sympathy for him!'

It should be noted, as already described in section 5.225, that the adjunct element does not always occur in the regular positions given above, since it also occurs clause-initially or clause-finally in clauses in which special focus is placed upon it, e.g.

bà: wé lújí íyà:sí ká kə:
you him food today don't give
'Don't give him food today'

bà: wé lújí ká kə: íyà:sí
or íyà:sí bà: wé lújí ká kə:
'Today, don't give him food!'

(b) The Non-Imperative Hortative Clause

The non-imperative hortative clause has two obligatory elements of structure: a clause-introducer (realized by tē only) and a predicator

(featuring the Neutral Type I verb-form). Depending on the transitivity of the verb present in the clause (for the transitivity of verbs, cf. section 5.211), the clause may also contain one or two complements and one or more adjunctive phrases.

Examples.

ămǎn tê yó-yâ: mâ:
Subj. Cl.Introd. Pred. Adjunct.

we that we-stay here
'Let us, and no-one else, stay here'

tê yá-kpé běn-bên bǒŋ kèpóm-kèpóm
Cl.Introd. Pred. comp. comp. Adjunct

'Let them teach the children in the mornings'

The non-imperative hortative clause displays a two-term system of person: 1st person and 3rd person. This grammatical structure is complementary to that of the imperative hortative clause in which only the 2nd person may operate.

When there is no subject element overtly present in the clause, the verbal prefix indicates the person operating in the clause. The 1st person, singular, is indicated by a syllabic nasal prefix, and the 1st person, plural, by yO-, e.g.

tê ɲ-kâm ɔ
'Let me help you'

tê yó-kâm ɔ
'Let us help you'

The 3rd person, singular or plural, is indicated by the appropriate non-pronominal prefix in concordant agreement with the nominal class of the noun to which the prefix refers. Thus, if the verbal prefix is referring to a noun of Concord Class I, the prefix is O-, and if the noun to which the verbal prefix refers is of Concord Class 2, then the prefix

is ya- , and so on,¹ e.g.

tè yá-nòmà ké ñ:kpèl (ya- here referring to yàsèn 'visitors')
'Let them (the visitors) sit on the chairs'

tè ñ-wá lówí (N- here referring to ñ-bú 'goats')
'Let them (the goats) drink the water'

When there is a subject element present in the clause, and the verbal prefix refers to the 1st person, the subject may only be realized by a self-standing 1st person pronoun, i.e. either àmí 'I' or àmǒn 'we'. The presence of either of these pronouns in the clause performs a 'discriminatory' role, i.e. it brings the subject into focus.

Examples.

tè yójí bǒŋ 'Let us eat'

àmǒn tè yójí bǒŋ 'Let us, and no-one else, eat'

we-ourselves let we-eat something

When there is a subject element present in the clause, and the verbal prefix is non-pronominal, (i.e. refers to the 3rd person), the subject may be realized by a noun, a 3rd person pronoun or a noun immediately followed by a concordant pronoun.

When the subject is realized by either a noun immediately followed by a concordant pronoun or a 3rd person pronoun alone, the pronoun has again a discriminatory role, as do 1st person pronouns functioning as subject, e.g.

Ò:bétèn ñwè tè ɔ-yā: mā: 'Let Obetem alone stay here'
Obeten he-himself let he-stays here

tè yánŋ kǎwǎn 'Let them play'

1. Cf. section 4.111.

m̀b̀ə t̀ə yánəŋ kɛwón 'Let them, and no-one else, play'
they-themselves let they-do play

The subject is not so brought into focus, when it is realized
by a noun alone, i.e. not immediately followed by a concord-ing pronoun, e.g.

bě̀n-bḕn t̀ə yánəŋ kɛwón 'Let the children play'
children let they-do play

Note that the subject element, when present in a non-imperative
hortative clause, always immediately precedes the clause-introducer, as
shown by some of the examples in the section under consideration.

(c) The Persuasive Feature:

Both imperative and non-imperative hortative clauses may be further
marked optionally by what we may describe as a 'persuasive feature'
realized by such expressions as:

ké m̀:bo: 'please'
ké è:fà éwù 'by your power'

expressions which make a command or a wish less abrupt. These nominal
phrases usually occur either clause initially or finally.

Examples.

ké m̀:bo: kě: m̀ lĩmàn jíma:
'Please give me the money'

ké è:fà éwù t̀ə: yé
'By your power, leave him alone'

t̀ə yókòu ké m̀:bo:
'Please let us go'

The phrases may sometimes express impatience, particularly ké m̀:bo:
e.g.

kò:má kékòl kèfínnà ké m̀:bo:
'Stop making^a noise please!'

6.2112 Non-Hortative Clauses

Non-hortative clauses have normally one obligatory element of structure, the Predicator, and three optional elements, the Subject, the Complement and the Adjunct.

They may be divided into two sub-classes: affirmative and interrogative. Affirmative clauses generally state facts, while interrogative clauses ask questions.

(a) The Affirmative Clause

(i) The Subject

The subject element, when present in the clause, is realized by the presence of a noun phrase or a self-standing pronoun. It is normally absent when the verb-form is of the 1st or 2nd person.

(ii) The Predicator

The predicator is usually realized by an indicative verb consisting of a prefix and a verb-stem. The prefix indicates the person and number of the subject, which may or may not be overtly present in the clause.

(iii) The Complement

The presence of the complement in the clause is determined by the transitivity features of the verb. When the complement is present, it is realized by a noun phrase having the participant role of attribuant or recipient(benefactor).

(iv) The Adjunct

The occurrence of the adjunct depends either on the transitivity of the verb present in the clause or on the semantic requirement of the clause. When the adjunct occurs, it is realized by an adverbial noun phrase, an adverb or an ideophone having the circumstantial role of

locative, time-punctiliar, time-duration or manner.

Examples of affirmative clauses:

ŋ-wè ké lújí lómì
 Predicator Perf. Complement
 Part.

I-finished have food my
 'I have finished my food'

wèn ówù ó-wóláí ból ájá:jí:mìn
 subject Predicator Complement Adjunct
 child your he-is-playing ball now
 'Your son is playing football now'

òbàsè ó-yè: ké mā:
 Subject Predicator Perf. Adjunct
 rain it-arrived has here
 'Rain has come'. 'It has started raining'

òkówè ómòń ó-kpéi mòń bǒń lèwì-lèwì
 Subject. Predicator Comp. Comp. Adjunct
 teacher our he-is-teaching us something every day
 'Our teacher teaches us something every day'

All these examples are positive affirmative clauses, and their basic structure is the same as that described under section 6.2111(a)(iii). The order in which the elements of structure occur in negative affirmative clauses is also similar to that described under the section just quoted.

Examples of negative affirmative clauses are:

òbàsè ké mā: ǒ:-yè:
 Subject Perf. Adjunct Predicator
 Part.

rain has here it-arrived-not
 'Rain has not come'. 'It has not yet started raining'.

òkówè ómòń mǒń bǒń lèwì-lèwì ò:-kpéi
 Subject Comp. Comp. Adjunct Predicator
 'Our teacher does not teach us every day'

(b) The Interrogative Clause

The elements of structure of the interrogative clause are similar to those of the affirmative clause, but the immediate constituents of these elements in the two types of clause often differ. Question clauses are characterized either by at least one question word usually filling the grammatical slot of an element of structure or by a question intonation (cf. under predicator below).

(i) The Subject

The subject of an interrogative clause, when present, may be realized not only by an ordinary (i.e. non-question) noun phrase or pronoun, but also by a question noun phrase or question pronoun. Some of these interrogative noun phrases and pronouns are:

ṇě: (functioning as subject or complement) 'who?' (singular)

nè: (functioning as complement only) 'who?' (singular)

yábân? 'who?' (plural)

yápân? 'how many?'

ṇbôn? (before the verb) }
bôn? (after the verb) } what?

nă:-x-á? 'which x?' 'what x?'

(x inserted between nă: and á stands for any noun, e.g.

nă:-ḍnên-á? 'Which person?', nă:-bôn-á? 'what thing?')

Examples

<u>yábân</u>	<u>yâ-jí:</u>	<u>ké</u>	<u>lújí</u>	<u>lómì?</u>
Subject	Pred.	Perf.	Complement	
who they-ate have food my				
'Who have eaten my food?'				

<u>nă:-bôn-á</u>	<u>ḍ-kâlái</u>	<u>yḍ</u>	<u>dě:dě:sà?</u>
Subject	Predicator	Comp.	Adjunct.

what-thing it-frightens you at night

'What frightens you at night?'

(ii) The Predicator

The predicator is normally realized by the Relative Clause Type II verb-form. (cf. examples given immediately above for the morphology of the Relative Clause verb-form, and the Tables A - D in chapter 4). It may however be realized occasionally by an indicative verb-form exactly as in affirmative clauses. When this happens, the interrogative clause distinguishes itself from an affirmative clause either by the presence of the question marker ɲwé or through the optional feature of question intonation.

Example

à:wóu ó-kòì kèblé:

Subject Predicator Comp

'Your father went to the farm'

[— — — —] (Affirmative Intonation)

à:wóu ó-kòì kèblé:?

'Did your father go to the farm?'

[— — — —] (Question Intonation)

or

ɲwé à:wóu ó-kòì kèblé:?

Question (with affirmative intonation)
Marker

'Did your father go to the farm?'

The affirmative intonation shown above is called downdrift. The difference between affirmative intonation and question intonation is that question intonation is downdrift marked by a steeper falling pitch, as shown above. When the question marker ɲwé is used, the intonation of the clause is that of the affirmative downdrift.

(iii) The Complement

Like the subject, the complement element of the interrogative clause may be realized either by an ordinary noun phrase or pronoun or by an interrogative noun phrase or pronoun. When the complement is realized by a question noun phrase or pronoun, its form may change according to its position in the clause. This is the case with ñně: and ñbôŋ?:

ñně: á:kò:mì?	}	'Whom are you waiting for?'
ákó:mí nê:?		
ñbôŋ á:wò:yì?	}	'What are you searching for?'
áwó:yí bôŋ?		

All other question noun phrases and pronouns occur unaltered before or after the predicator, e.g.

<u>ñtó yēnyé</u>	á:wò:yì?	}	'Which houses are you looking for?'
Comp.noun	Predicator		
phrase			
áwó:yí	<u>ñtó yēnyé?</u>		

Note that when the complement occurs before the predicator, the predicator is realized by the Relative Clause Type I verb-form. But when the complement occurs after the predicator, the predicator is realized by an indicative verb-form, as in affirmative clauses.

When both the subject and the complement in a question verbal clause are realized by an ordinary noun phrase or pronoun, the clause maintains its interrogative character either through the question marker or the question intonation.

(iv) The Adjunct

The adjunct in an interrogative clause may be realized either by a non-question adverbial phrase, adverb or ideophone (as in affirmative

clauses) or by a question word filling that grammatical slot, e.g.

dêndê ? (before or after the verb) 'where?'

yâŋ ? or yàn ? (before or usually after the verb) 'how?'

Examples

<u>á-nóí</u>	<u>ké</u>	<u>yàn?</u>
Predicator	Perf.	Adjunct
	Part.	
you-did	have	how
'How are you?' 'How is life with you?'		

<u>á-yáu</u>	<u>dêndê?</u>	'Where are you?'
Predicator	Adjunct	
you-are	where	

6.212 Elements of Structure of Bound Verbal Clauses

As earlier indicated (section 6.21) the elements of structure of bound clauses are largely the same as those of free verbal clauses. It is also observed that the immediate constituents of these elements are similar in both types of verbal clauses. For instance, the subject when present in a bound clause, is realized, as in affirmative free clauses, by a noun phrase or a pronoun. The predicator is realized by a verb-form consisting of a prefix and a verb-stem in both bound and non-hortative free clauses. The complement slot in a bound clause may be filled by one or two noun phrases depending upon the transitivity of the verb contained in the clause, as it is the case in all free verbal clauses. In bound clauses, as in free clauses, the adjunct may be realized by an adverbial phrase, an adverb or an ideophone. And finally the conjunction tè may realize the clause-introducer element in bound clauses as well as in non-imperative hortative clauses. We may therefore assume that, on the whole, the elements of structure of bound clauses are already accounted for by the description of these elements in free verbal clauses.

However, there are certain features of bound clauses which cannot be said to have been adequately covered by our analysis of free clauses. These features interest mainly the clause-introducer and predicator elements, on which we shall now be concentrating in the following description of bound clauses.

6.2121 Types of Bound Clauses

Bound clauses may be divided into two types on the basis of the presence or absence of the clause-introducer element in the clause structure: - clause-introducer bound clauses and + clause-introducer bound clauses.

6.21211 - Clause-Introducer Bound Clauses

The - clause-introducer bound clause is realized by the presence of a non-nuclear clause whose relationship with the nuclear or main clause is not ambiguous, although it is not explicitly marked by a clause-introducer.

The realization of clauses of this kind gives rise to three distinct sub-types of -clause-introducer bound clauses:

- (a) Conditional Bound Clauses;
- (b) Neutral Verb-Form Bound Clauses;
- (c) Polarity-Contrast Negative Bound Clauses

(a) Conditional Bound Clauses

The Conditional bound clause is characterized by the presence in the clause of a predicator realized by a conditional verb-form (for Conditional verb-forms, cf. Tables A - D in chapter 4). The Conditional clause may occur before or after the nuclear clause.

Examples (Conditional clause underlined):

òbàsè ò:-tǎi, tèně lówí ké à:-gbán-gbán

Subject Predicator

rain if-it-falls, collect water in basin

'If it rains, collect water in a basin'

ně áké: ñtǎn sǒ:sǒ:, â:kǒi ké yǒ:támítám yómón

Pred. Adjunct

will you-see animals many, if-you-go to forests our

'You will see many animals, if you go to our forests'

(b) Neutral-Verb-Form Bound Clauses

The Neutral-Verb-Form bound clauses is characterized by the presence in the clause of a predicator realized by a Neutral Type I or Type II verb-form. The verb-form is Neutral Type I when the verbal prefix is a non-pronominal prefix (with the exception of the 3rd person singular prefix O-). The verb-form is Neutral Type II when the verbal prefix is either a pronominal prefix or the 3rd person singular prefix O-. (For the morphology of Neutral verb-forms, cf. section 4.1315). This type of bound clause never occurs before the main clause. It commonly features in narratives.

Examples (Neutral Verb-Form bound clauses underlined):

lěwí jǎná òból Ágbálángbá ódèlì kpákpà, ò-pó:
day one chief Agbalangba he-took peanuts, he-roasted

ké è:kón, ò-dò: mā:, ò-kòu dé lè:kpékpéí

in fire, he-left(them) there, he-went to room

lěwé, ò-dèlì lètá:bìfèlì lěwé....

his, he-took snuff-box his

'One day, chief Agbalangba took peanuts and roasted them in the fire. Then he went to his room to get his snuff-box...'

běn yámón yákù:yì, yáwó:yì bé ímén

children our they-are-going, they-are-fetching themselves firewood

'Our children are going to fetch firewood'.

When two or more Neutral Verb-Form bound clauses occur in a sequence, as in the first example above, they function in linear recursive relation.

They can therefore be compared to clauses in coordinate relation, since any one of them may be dropped without necessarily disrupting the basic structure or meaning of the individual neighbouring clauses. However, these bound clauses cannot be described as coordinate with the nuclear clause on which they depend, since, unlike nuclear clauses, they cannot stand by themselves, given the non-nuclear tone pattern of their verb-form. Furthermore, it is usually easy to determine the nature of the relationship between the Neutral Verb-Form bound clause and its nuclear clause or between consecutive Neutral Verb-Form bound clauses. For instance, in the following complex sentence (bound clause underlined),

ètě̀n	yǎnyànà:yá	éká:ńá,	<u>éńáwà</u>	ě̀mà	ké	è:kón
animal	each	it-denied,	it-put	mouth	in	fire

'Each animal denied it completely'

it is not difficult to see that the second clause is not coordinate with, but dependent upon, the first clause, since it has a Neutral Type I bound clause verb-form, éńáwà, and merely states the extent to which the action of denying in the nuclear clause takes place, namely that each animal denied the accusation until it put its mouth in the fire as a test of its innocence.

(c) Polarity-Contrast Negative Bound Clauses

Clauses of this type occur when a complex sentence features a positive clause as the first and nuclear clause, and a negative clause as the second and bound clause.

The construction may be freely translated by the English conjunction, 'but' or 'without' inserted before the second clause, since there is always a contrast or surprise implication in the sentence.

Examples.

àyì	ímà:	bě̀n	yákām	yákù:yì	ké	ètó-ńwě̀ně̀,
days	these	children	they-just	they-are-going	completive	school particle

ḡwēnē mā: bē ṅ:dēi kēyēlī

books themselves them they-please-not

'These days children merely go to school but they don't like reading books'

The construction is often used with great dramatic effect to contrast two actions or two objects placed in focus, often, clause-initially, e.g.

ējām mā: ɔndmā kē, kēbōdī ēdō nsē ó:bī

exam itself he-sat has, passing then which neg. aux.

ō:bōdī

he-passed-not

'He sat the examination, but did not pass'.

It should be noted that in this type of complex sentence, the dependent clause is only loosely bound to the nuclear clause. This is moreso in complex sentences in which the main clause and the bound clause neither share a common grammatical subject nor a common complement, as in the last two examples.

6.21212 + Clause - Introducer Bound Clauses

The + Clause-introducer bound clause is realized by the presence of a non-nuclear clause whose relationship with the nuclear clause is explicitly marked by a clause-introducer.

The realization of clauses of this kind gives rise to three subtypes of bound clauses:

- (a) Purpose bound clauses introduced by tē.
- (b) Relative Type bound clauses introduced by kē, mē and dē.
- (c) Bound clauses introduced by ṁmē (ṁmē) and tūtū.

(a) Purpose Bound Clauses

This purpose bound clause is characterized by the presence in the

clause of a clause-introducer realized by the *tě* conjunction. The verb-form is Neutral Type I. Examples(purpose bound clause underlined):

băněň bímà: yákòì dé lè:wí-tú, tě yákòì blǒŋ
 women the they-went to water-head, so-that they-wash things
 'The women went to the spring in order to wash clothes'

yówó:yí, tě yódówà
 we-want, so-that we sleep
 'We want to sleep'

A purpose bound clause may also be introduced by an expression which appears to incorporate an auxiliary, viz. *de íně* 'so that', e.g.

yókó:mí ò, de íně yókòu yódówà
 we-are-waiting-for you, so that we-go we-sleep
 'We are waiting for you, so that we may go and sleep'

(b) Relative Type Bound Clauses

The relative type bound clause is characterized by the presence in the clause of a clause-introducer, realized by one of the following conjunctions: *ké*, *mé* and *dé*. It is described as a relative type bound clause because the conjunctions have the appearance of relators and the verb-form is that of the Relative Clause Type I.

ké and *mé* introduce temporal bound clauses. They are grammatically and semantically similar, although *ké* tends to be employed in temporal clauses with a past meaning, and *mé* in temporal clauses with a non-past meaning.

Examples.

mé lú:jí ló:bí, áyè: ké mǎ:
 when food it-is-cooked, you-come have here
 'Now that the food is ready, you have come'

ké á:běň bímà: yá:kòì ñwěñě, òbàsè ótèi wò::
 when children the they-went school, rain it-fell wo::

'When the children went to school, very heavy rain fell'

dó introduces a locative bound clause, e.g.

dó lú:jí ló:yáu, mā: nmě: ñnè ákě: é
 where food there-is, there you-will-see him
 'Wherever there is food, it is there you will find him'

ké and mé also occur in expressions which incorporate the auxiliary-like word ñnè, viz. ké ñnè 'if', mé ñnè 'when', e.g.

ké ñnè óyè: mā:, ètém nè éďă: ñ
 if he-will-come here, heart it-will-please me
 'If he will come, I shall be glad'

mé ñnè óyè: ké mā:, nè ónēŋ yìkpò
 when he-come has here, will he-cause trouble
 'Now that he has come, he will cause trouble'

(c) Bound Clauses Introduced by ñmè (ñmè) and tùtù.

ñmè or ñmè 'before' introduces a temporal bound clause.

ñmè introduces a bound clause with a Neutral Type II verb-form, when the nuclear clause expresses a non-past meaning. The conjunction may therefore be said to introduce a non-past bound clause, e.g.

ñmè óyè: mā:, jáká àwè ké yònénéŋ yówù
 before he-comes here, try you-finish have work your
 'Before he comes, try and finish your work'

ñmè, on the other hand, introduces a bound clause with a Neutral Type I verb-form, when the nuclear clause has a past meaning, e.g.

ñmè óyè: mā:, ñwè ké yònénéŋ yómì
 before he-come here, I-finished have work my
 'Before he came, I had finished my work'

tùtù 'until' also introduces a temporal bound clause the verb-form of which may be Neutral Type I or II.

The verb-form in the bound clause is Neutral Type I, when the nuclear clause expresses a non-past meaning, e.g.

tùtù òyè: mǎ:, jǎŋ ń:dè:yà
until he-comes here, never I-shall-accept not
'Until he comes, I shall never accept it'

But when the nuclear clause has a past meaning, tùtù introduces a bound clause requiring a Neutral Type II verb-form, e.g.

tùtù òyè: mǎ:, wé ké ñ:kání ñké
until he-came here, him have I-before I-saw
'Until he came, I had not seen him before'

It should be noted that although tùtù takes Neutral Type I verb-forms only when the verbal prefix is non-pronominal (excluding the 3rd person singular O-), the past or non-past meaning of the bound clause is easily identified through the tense of the nuclear clause: the bound clause acquires a past or non-past meaning according as the nuclear clause has a past or non-past meaning respectively.

Examples.

tùtù yáyè: mǎ:, lújí ń:jí
'Until they come, I shall not eat'

tùtù yáyè: mǎ:, ké lújí ñ:jí
'Until they came, I had not eaten'

6.22 Elements of Structure of Non-Verbal Clauses

Non-verbal clauses may be divided into three primary types: interrogative, affirmative and nominal of address. Only the interrogative non-verbal clause may be accurately described as having a structure, in that it comprises at least two elements of structure. The affirmative and nominal of address non-verbal types of clause consist of one single item.

6.221 The Interrogative Non-Verbal Clause

The structure of the interrogative non-verbal clause may be formulated as

+ Subject + Adjunct

The subject element may be realized by any non-question noun phrase or pronoun or both. When a noun and its concordant pronoun cooccur as a single subject of the clause, the pronoun always immediately follows the noun and focuses attention upon it(cf. examples below).

The adjunct element is always realized by one of two question words: kĩŋ 'where?' or kĩ 'where?', 'what about?'.

Examples.

<u>Ô:bétèn</u>	<u>ŋwə</u>	<u>kĩŋ?</u>
Subject		Adjunct
Obeten	himself	where
'Where is Obeten himself?'		

<u>lújí</u>	<u>lómì</u>	<u>ńjə</u>	<u>kĩ?</u>
Subject			Adjunct
food	my	itself	what about
'What about my own food?'			

<u>yònénón</u>	<u>bé</u>	<u>á:nèi</u>	<u>èbě:</u>	<u>kĩŋ?</u>
Subject				Adjunct
work	which	you-did	all	where
'Where is all the work you did?'				

6.222 The Affirmative Non-Verbal Clause

The affirmative non-verbal clause may consist of only one element: a subject, a complement or an adjunct, i.e. + Subject/ + Complement / + Adjunct in formula.

The subject or the complement is realized by any non-question noun phrase or pronoun.

The adjunct may be any non-question adverbial nominal phrase, adverb or ideophone.

The element selected in any particular affirmative non-verbal clause is contextually determined (approximately) by the preceding question to which the affirmative clause is a response.

Examples.

In the following dialogue, the affirmative non-verbal clauses are underlined:

A: mǎ: ódó ññě: ? 'Who is that over there?'

B: àmí 'Me' 'It is I'. (àmí functioning as subject)

A: áńó:yí bôn? 'What are you doing?'

B: yòńénén 'Work' (yòńénén functioning as complement)

A: nà ákò:mè nǎ:- kébê:-à ? 'When will you stop?'

B: kèdó:wó 'In the evening' (kèdó:wó functioning as Adjunct).

6.223 The Nominal of Address Non-Verbal Clause

The nominal of address non-verbal clause consists of a single element realized by a personal proper name functioning as a vocative. This type of clause is different from all other clauses described above, in that it consists of an item which does not occur in their basic structure. Examples of this clause have already been given under section 6.12.

6.3. SUBJECT-VERBAL PREFIX CONCORD

In Lòkée, there is concord between the subject of the verbal clause and the verbal prefix in respect of person and number (concord class).

This is realized through the specification that the same person (and in the case of the 3rd person, the same concord class also) is selected both in the subject of the clause and in the verbal prefix.

In this agreement arrangement, it is the person and concord-class of the subject which is the determining factor. And it is this concord, together with linear position, which enables the subject to be identified. Examples (concording noun prefix and verbal prefix underlined):

<u>ò</u> -nèn <u>ó</u> -wú:yí mìn	'Someone lives here'
<u>yà</u> -nèn <u>yá</u> -wú-yí mìn	'People live here'
<u>lè</u> -wì <u>lé</u> -sò:wó kè	'It is morning'
<u>kè</u> -tí sìmà: <u>ké</u> -bè kè	'The tree is dead'
<u>yè</u> -tí bímà: <u>yé</u> -bè kè	'The trees are dead'
<u>è</u> -tì mǎ: <u>è</u> :-dó	'There is no road'
<u>h</u> -tì mǎ: <u>h</u> :-dó	'There are no roads'
<u>kò</u> -tèn <u>kó</u> -tò kè	'The roof has fallen in'
<u>lì</u> -màn <u>lí</u> -gǎ: n kè	'My money has finished'

When nouns of different classes share a common verb, it sometimes happens that the verbal prefix agrees with the nominal class of the first noun, while the other noun is tagged on with the expression òbó 'and', thus

<u>é</u> -bú <u>é</u> -yè: mǎ: òbó yì:nòn
goat it-came here and bird
'A goat and a bird came'

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE SENTENCE UNIT

7.0. In the preceding chapter, some attempt was made to define clauses in terms of their element of structure. In this chapter, we propose to describe and illustrate the various types of sentence that may occur in Lòkée.

7.1. Types of Sentence

Two primary types of sentence are postulated in Lòkée: simple and complex.

7.1.1. The Simple Sentence

A sentence is defined as simple when it is non-complex, i.e. when it consists of a single clause functioning at the clause level, e.g.

yàdém bímà: yákù: yì kèblô:
men the they-are-going farm
'The men are going to the farm'

By this definition, relative clauses functioning as rankshifted clauses at a level lower than the clause are regarded as not affecting the complexity or otherwise of sentences. This is because a relative clause can be excised from the clause in which it occurs without otherwise altering the basic grammatical structure of that clause, e.g. (relative clause underlined):

yàdém bé yàfúní kên mà: yákù: yì kèblô:
who they-are-coming here
'The men who are coming towards us are going to the farm'

èwì yé èmáí mîn éns: yí yìdè
sunshine which it-shines here it-causes sleep
'This intense sunshine makes one feel sleepy'

The underlined relative clauses are functioning as adjectival phrases,

each modifying the noun with which the relator is in concordant agreement.

7.111 Verbal and Non-verbal Simple Sentences

Simple sentences may be specified as either verbal or non-verbal.

7.1111 Verbal Simple Sentences

Verbal simple sentences may be further specified as affirmative, interrogative or hortative, as the following illustrative examples show:

affirmative: lòjídù jímà: lókò:lí ké
palm-fruit the it-ripened has
'The palm-fruit is ripe'
yètélékpà ké Û:mé àyì ímà yě:sò:
domestic animals in Ugep days these they-are-not-many
'There are not many domestic animals in Ugep these days'

Interrogative: òně: ònǒn lújí jímà?
Who he-cooked food the
'Who cooked the food?'
kébê: kéjèi yǎn?
time it-says how
'What is the time?'

Hortative simple sentences may be imperative or non-imperative.

Imperative Hortative: bálé yìsòwé ké è:kón
put pot on fire
'Put the pot on the fire!'
bǎ: kù:wé é lèmə
open him door
'Open the door to him!'

Non-Imperative Hortative: tē yómènè mǒn yónénén
let we-start us work
'Let us start work'

ònnèn-ò:nèn tǎ óyè:lǎ kǎ lè:bó:kém
everyone let he-answers in chief's compound
'Everyone should come to the chief's compound'

It should be noted that a personal name may occur in vocative function as a marginal item within hortative sentences. When this happens, the vocative is delimited from the rest of the hortative sentence by a pause juncture, symbolized in our transcription by a comma.

Examples

Èbrì, kò:mé kékòl
Ebri, stop noise
'Ebri, stop making noise!'
kò:mé lújí, Kápò:nà
stop food, Kapoona
'Stop eating, Kapoona'

7.1112 Non-Verbal Simple Sentences

Non-verbal simple sentences may be sub-divided into structured and non-structured simple sentences.

7.11121 Structured Non-Verbal Simple Sentences

The structured non-verbal simple sentence is identical with the interrogative non-verbal clause already described in section 6.221, and of which the following are illustrative examples:

òwèné mǐ kǐ?
book my where
'Where is my book'
límàn líwù kǐ?
money your what about
'Where is your money?'

7.11122 Unstructured Non-Verbal Simple Sentences

These are single-element sentences, which have no structure of their

own, but which can be integrated into the structure of an utterance or discourse.¹ They are usually pre-determined by their context.

The following types of unstructured non-verbal simple sentences may be set up:

- (a) Personal names in vocative function, e.g.

Òmîî 'Omini', Òbétèn 'Obeten'

Úbî 'Ubi' Ísú 'Isu'

The context is usually that of a dialogue, in which the name of an interlocutor is called.

-ò or -ò: may be suffixed to a vocative item as a vocative intensifier, e.g.

Òmîî-ò: ; Úbî-ò.

A vocative item may also be modified by a relative clause (underlined), e.g.

yàdém bé yàbói lédù, bǎ: yè:lé ñ

'Men who are members of the Ledu association, come to my house!'

- (b) Responses to nominals of address, polar questions, commands and requests:

The usual response to a nominal of address is ǒ:, but ñ: is not uncommon. ǒ: implies respect.

The response to a polar question may be either éiyá, ñ: 'yes' or èé, ñm 'no'. éiyá and èé imply respect.

A stronger form of éiyá is éiyá-è. It signifies complete agreement,

1. For a definition of these terms, cf. chapter 8.

and may be translated as 'yes, I agree completely'.

The negative response counterpart of éiyá-è is èè:. It signifies complete disagreement, and is translatable as 'no, I disagree completely'.

jàn is another strong negative response -word, which means 'never', 'impossible'.

The positive responses to a command or a request are usually either ò, ò: or ì, ì:, the lengthened forms being more emphatic than the shorter ones.

The negative response-words to commands and requests are the same as the negative responses to polar questions, i.e. èé or ìì 'no', èè: and jàn being stronger responses.

(c) Exclamations and Invocations

Exclamations here include words expressing distress, sympathy, surprise, delight and admiration.

Distress: ô:hôiyò: ! exclamations uttered when greatly frightened.
ô:wôiyò: !

mbè-è ! exclamation uttered when in great pain.

Sympathy: yê:kâ: ! 'Sorry, I beg your pardon!'

kòkũ: ! 'Sorry, I sympathize with you!'

Surprise: tô:, tó:ò 'Fantastic!' 'Unbelievable!'
dènèèè! 'Is that really so!'

Delight: éiyá-è: ! 'Marvellous!' 'Splendid!'

Admiration: òdém! 'You act like a man!' (literally 'man').

èkpè ! 'You are a man of strength and courage! (literally
'leopard').

Invocations include the following words:

Èkèu 'Name of a patron goddess'

Òbà:gbó 'Name of a patron god'

Òbàsè íbùlú:kpá:bì 'God Almighty'

These invocative words are uttered either to appeal to the gods to intervene in one's favour or simply to mean 'Far be it from me!'

(d) 'Abridged' Sentences

Abridged sentences may be described as grammatically truncated questions or responses to non-polar questions. Interrogative abridged sentences normally consist of a word, usually a question word, that would normally be part of a longer verbal question sentence, and which seeks to pin-point the information required. An abridged sentence which is a response to a non-polar question consists of a single nominal phrase that would normally be part of a longer verbal affirmative sentence, and that seeks to give only the relevant information solicited by an immediately preceding question. Abridged sentences of this kind occur in conversational discourses, as shown in the following dialogue between Òfèṁ and Òbètèn (abridged sentences underlined):

Òfèṁ: yábāṅ yàtóì lòbó mǎ:?

'Who are crying over there?'

Òbètèn: bé à:-Kápò:nà 'Kapoona and her friends'

(Longer verbal version: bé à:-Kápò:nà mibè yàtóì lòbó mǎ:

'Kapoona and her friends are crying over there'

Òfèṁ: yáwó:yí bōṅ? 'What do they want?'

Òbètèn: lújí 'Food'

(Longer verbal version: yáwó:yí lújí 'They want food'.

Òfèṁ: dènènè? 'Really?'

(Longer verbal version: ódó á:já: dènènè? 'Is that really so?'

Òbètèn: éiyá 'yes'

(e) Non-Verbal Idiomatic Sentences

These consist of idiomatic fixed nominal phrases, e.g.

èṁà éwù	'You boast a lot'
mouth your	
èṁà ké lètú-á	'You talk too much'
mouth in head	

Remark

It should be noted that some responses to vocatives of personal names, polar questions, commands and requests, (e.g. éiyá, éiyá-è, èé, èê:), as well as some of the exclamations (e.g. ô:hǒiyò:, ô:wǒiyò:) have a phonological structure that appears to lie outside the main stream of Lòkṣe phonological patterns described in chapter 2. But these unanalysable morphemes are treated as single-word sentences in that they can function significantly in the structure of the discourse, as shown by the following dialogue between Ọ̀bóṣí Lòpòn and É̀tùm Ù̀bóm (single-word response-sentences underlined):

Ọ̀bóṣí Lòpòn: É̀tùm (nominal of address)

É̀tùm Ù̀bóm: ǒ: (response to a nominal of address)

Ọ̀bóṣí Lòpòn: lèkó lébèṅè ké lèwí. nà ákòu?

'War has been declared. Will you join it?'

É̀tùm Ù̀bóm: éiyá, bá: ké: ṁ yíkósòwè yímì!'

'Yes. Give me my war-pot!'

(the war-pot is carried on the head by the champion warrior in front of his fellow combatants).

Note also that when a response-sentence of this kind immediately precedes another sentence in the same utterance, it is no longer considered as constituting a separate sentence by itself, but as a response-initiator forming part of the immediately following sentence and separated from it only by a pause juncture (or a comma in the transcription), as shown in

the following brief dialogue between Étəŋ and Òmìnì:

Étəŋ : Òmìnì-ò:

Òmìnì : ǒ:

Étəŋ : áyáu ké lù:jí-ǒ:? 'Are you at table?'

Òmìnì : èé, fɔwè ké lújí

'No, I have finished eating'

Étəŋ : tɛ́ ódɛ́: á:já:. yónné ò dé ínè yókòu kèblɛ́:!

'Good (literally, 'let it be so'). Get ready for us to go to the farm!'

Òmìnì: jàŋ, fɔkù:yì fɔwènɛ

'Never, I am going to school'

This feature of single-word response-sentences further distinguishes them from abridged sentences ((d) above) which always constitute separate sentences in all contexts.

7.12 The Complex Sentence

7.121 Structure

A complex sentence consists of at least two clauses functioning at the clause level in a certain relationship to each other. One of the clauses functions as a nuclear or main clause; the other clause or clauses function as non-nuclear or subordinate clauses.

The nuclear clause is realized by the presence of a free verbal clause specified as nuclear and simple. Its elements of structure have already been described in chapter 6.

The non-nuclear clause is realized by the presence of a clause specified as subordinate and simple. Its elements of structure have also been described in chapter 6.

Examples of Complex Sentences (nuclear clauses underlined):

bèn bímà: yáku: yì kèblé:, dè ínnè yáwó: bé n̄n̄n̄

children the they-are-going farm so that they-may them fire-wood
'The children are going to the farm in order to find and collect
fire-wood'.

òbàsè òtètè yān m̄:, bān̄n̄ yām̄n̄ jān̄ kèblé: yā:kpá:lá

rain it-falls how so women our never farm they-do-not-go
'However hard it rains, our women never fail to go to the farm'

òból wāná ókò(u)ká:, òkpèyè òból Ágbálángbá, òbè bān̄n̄ kó ñ:kàtā

chief one he-went there he-was-called oból Agbalangba he-married wives
in baskets

'There was a certain chief called Agbalangba. He married so many
wives that no-one could count them'

7.122 Types of Complex Sentence

Complex sentences, like simple sentences, may be described as affirmative, interrogative or hortative according as the nuclear clause is affirmative, interrogative or hortative respectively.

Examples

Affirmative Complex Sentences:

yān̄n̄ ómì ókòí éplá tē ódè: lújí

wife my she-went market so-that she-brought food
'My wife went to the market in order to buy food'

ké É:pù ó:fù yè èmā, kpákpā-lǔ:lǔ: líwí:yí ké ké lò:wí èbē:

when Monkey it-rinsed himself mouth, pieces of peanuts they-filled have
in water all

'When Monkey rinsed his mouth, the whole water was filled with pieces
of peanuts'

Interrogative Complex Sentences:

kébē: kéjèi yān̄ m̄ á:yè: m̄:?

time it-said what when you-arrived here
'What was the time when you arrived?'

m̄bôn̄ á:n̄h̄:yî t̄ê át̄ê: ák̄am wòl líwù?

what you-are- so-that you-take you-help body your doing

'What are you doing to help yourself?'

Hortative Complex Sentences:

fú k̄ên ák̄am m̄ôn k̄é

come you-help us have

'Come and help us!'

t̄ê ófú k̄ên d̄é f̄n̄ê ók̄ôi ȳp̄ó:

let he-comes so-that he-washes dishes

'Let him come and wash the dishes'

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE DISCOURSE AND UTTERANCE UNITS

8.0. Introduction

This preliminary study of Lòkèè has not yet reached a stage where grammatical units larger than the sentence can be set up with any great assurance, the sentence being the highest rank in the hierarchy the relationships between the component elements of which it is possible to account for in terms of grammatical rules and categories without reference to semantic consideration or to non-linguistic context.

However, there seem good reasons for assuming that sentences function as elements of larger units. There are certain definite relationships between sentences, groupings of sentences or parts of different sentences, factors such as conjunctions, the occurrence of different pronouns in speech material, exclamations, questions and answers, response words, nominal phrases in vocative function, the fact that not all sentences can initiate or terminate a conversation or a narrative, all of which appear to require higher ranks in the grammatical hierarchy to account for them.¹

For these reasons, two units above the sentence, the Discourse and

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1. Bloomfield, L. (cf. Language (1933) p.170), Chomsky (cf. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 1964, esp. pp. 8-11), and Halliday, M.A.K. (basically, cf. Cohesion in English (1976) p.10 and 'Grammatical categories in Modern Chinese' Transactions of the Philological Society(1956) p.182) all regarded the sentence as the highest rank in the grammatical hierarchy. Cf. also Ronald Stanford(1975) p.42 and Ayo Bangbose (1966), p.28. But an increasing number of linguists now agree that one or two ranks above the sentence should be set up. Among them are Pike and Pike (1977) who talk of 'sentence clusters' to refer to sequences of sentences related by slot, role, class and cohesion features (p.489); Soviet Linguists, who, as reported by Grindin (1978), speak of 'Suprasentential Entities (SEs)'; S.H. Levinsohn (1980) who describes ranks beyond the sentence as Development Units (DU); Katy Barnwell (1969) p.100; Elaine Thomas (1969) p.33.

the Utterance, have been tentatively set up. The rest of the chapter is an attempt to define them and to illustrate their occurrence in Lòkée, and, in the process, to suggest issues that could be explored further.

8.1. THE DISCOURSE

The discourse comprises the total speech interaction of two or more individuals on any one given occasion. It consists of utterances (see below).

8.2. THE UTTERANCE

The utterance may be described as a total speech action by one individual, bounded either by silence or by the speech action of another individual.¹ It consists of sentences, the sequential class of which may never occur as the first constituent.

8.3. Classes of Discourse

Classes of discourse may be set up according to the characteristics of the component utterances, these characteristics being themselves determined by the occasion and place of the discourse. Three classes of discourse are distinguished.

8.31. Narration Discourse

One class of discourse we may call narration discourse. This is a discourse in which the narration of a folk tale or folk tales plays the major part. The occasion is usually after supper, before friends or members of the same family unit living in one 'compound' retire to bed.

1. Cf similar definition by Z.S. Harris (1951), Structural Linguistics, p.14, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

8.311 Constituent Utterances

The narration discourse consists of three utterances which are specific, grammatically and semantically, to this discourse. These are:

- (i) address
- (ii) reply
- (iii) narration of the folk tale

The first and second utterances are entirely invariable. So, too, are some parts of the narration utterance, which are described in section 8.3113.

8.3111 The Address

The address utterance is marked by the form:

kpàkpǎ: sɛ́níníní:

directed by the narrator to the audience announcing the beginning of the tale. These words do not occur anywhere else in the language, and they may be freely translated here as 'Lend me your ears!' or something to that effect.

8.3112 The Reply

The reply utterance is marked by the form: ǎ́:: (the tilde marking full nasalisation), directed by the audience to the narrator indicating readiness to listen. The expression ǎ́:: does not occur anywhere else in the language. ¹

-
1. A similar sound ǎ́:: is made by an òbónḡè during the kèbónḡè Festival day when young men uproot trees and parade them in the streets, to show off their strength and courage. The bigger the tree, the greater the esteem in which the òbánḡè expects to be held by young girls. On this occasion, ǎ́:: is roughly interpreted as 'Here I am, look at my tree!'

8.3113 The Narration

The narration utterance here consists of four different parts:

(a) an initiative formula introducing the principal character(s) of the story. A typical example is:

Kè:kpí ókòu kâ:...¹

'Once upon a time, there was a certain Tortoise...'

(b) a series of sequential and initiative sentences narrating the story, initiative sentences signalling either a new stage in the sequence of actions or a state that is constant.

This part of the narration utterance is further characterized by internal patterning, significant factors including:

(i) sequential words, mainly ímě: and èdó 'then'.

ímě: occurs optionally in all sentences that carry on the narrative from the previous sentence. It does not occur in a simple sentence unless preceded by èdó. It may occur either nuclear clause initially or as the second item after the subject, if the main clause is preceded by a temporal non-nuclear clause, e.g.

ké Ké:kpí ô:wóní ké kèblê:, (íwè) ímě:
when Tortoise he-returned have farm he then

ô:kǐi òkó òmènéwèn
he-went he-saw his-friend

'When Tortoise had returned from the farm, he then went to see his friend'

The sequential word is obligatorily absent in sentences that begin a new stage in the story.

1. For further examples, cf. Texts in the Appendix.

èdó may mark transition to the next stage, but sometimes introduces sentences in the same way as ñmǎ:. It occurs sentence initially, and is optionally reinforced by ñmǎ: which may immediately follow it, e.g.

èdó (ñmǎ:) Ké:kpì ó:kè: bǒŋ wé òkàlá
 then then Tortoise he-saw things that it-frightened
 'Then Tortoise saw a very wonderful thing'.

ñmǎ: here simply reinforces the notion of transition marked by èdó.

(ii) Lexical overlap or echo, a frequent linking device used between the stages of the story. It involves the repetition, at the beginning of a new sentence, of certain words or spatial or temporal clauses that have occurred in the immediately preceding sentence, e.g.

Kè:kpí ókòu ká:, òkòu kòsèŋá. kòsèŋá kímá:
 Tortoise he-went there, he-went journey, journey the
 kódál é ètém
 it-pleased him heart.
 'Once upon a time, there was a certain Tortoise who went on a journey. The journey delighted his heart'

(iii) The presence or absence of a noun in subject or complement function and the pattern of pronominal reference.

The presence of a noun as subject or complement in a sentence or clause signals either that the referent is not the same as the referent of the noun present as subject or complement respectively in the preceding sentence or clause, or, if the referent is the same, that emphasis upon the referent is still in a position of some prominence, e.g.

Kè:kpí òbó È:blá yákòu ká:, yákòu kó è:tì,
 Tortoise and Dog they-went there, they-went to farm-road
 tẹ yáwà ñjéu. kó yá:wò:nì, yákó:ñkòmà
 so-that they-got ropes. When they-were-returning, they-saw drums

ñpò:, ñbénnì ké è:tì. Kè:kpí ódèlì é
 two they-were-standing on farm-road. Tortoise he-took himself
 yàná, È:blá òdèlì íkèn. È:blá ójè é òbí é
 one, Dog he-took other. Dog he-said him he-said him
 "tè ñdè ké èkòrà éni ñpúwà". ñmă:
 let I-try drum my (so-that) I-hear". Then
 ô:fò: kâ:, éyè:lè mǎ: tón, tón, tón, tón.
 he-beat there it-sounded thus tón, tón, tón, tón.
 Kè:kpí ôfò: kâ:, yé:wé éblèkà ké.
 Tortoise he-beat there, his it-leaked.

'There were once a Tortoise and a Dog who went along the farm-road
 to get ropes. When they were returning, they saw two drums standing
 on the road. The Tortoise picked up one for himself, the Dog picked
 up the other. The Dog said to him: "Let me try my drum to hear what
 it sounds like". So he beat it and it sounded tón, tón, tón, tón.
 The Tortoise beat his, but it had a hole in it'.¹

The presence of the underlined È:blá signals that the noun is still in
 a position of some prominence after occurring in the preceding sentence.
 And the presence of the underlined Kè:kpí signals that the noun referent
 is not the same as the referent of the noun functioning as subject in
 the preceding sentence.

The subject or the complement is deleted when neither of these two
 conditions is in force, as, for instance, in the non-nuclear clause con-
 tained in the final sentence of the text just quoted above.

Kè:kpí ôfò: kâ:
 Subject Predicator Adjunct

where the complement of the transitive verb fò: 'beat (a drum)' is omitted,

1. Text and Translation adapted from F. D. D. Winston's unpublished
 collection of Lòkè tales as narrated to him by Ibor Eteng Obeten
 in 1956.

although it is inserted in the English translation.¹

Finally, the selection of a pronoun in place of a noun as realisation of the subject or complement in a clause is permissible only when the noun it replaces is not ambiguous, as is *yé:wé* 'his (drum)' in the last sentence of the passage quoted above, i.e.

Kè:kpí ófô: kâ:, yé:wé éblèkè ké

(iv) references to time signalling a new stage in the sequence of the story. The time reference may be a nominal phrase or a non-nuclear clause in temporal relation, e.g.

lèwì jàná, Kè:kpí ókòì kójê: òfì òtên sũ:sũ:
day one Tortoise he-went hunting he-killed animals many
'One day, Tortoise went hunting and killed many animals'.

ké ké:dò:wè ké:yè:, Kè:kpí ówòní ké lò:pòn
when evening it-came, Tortoise he-returned to town
'When it was evening, Tortoise returned into the town'

(v) direct and indirect speech quotations, which the narrator uses to make the story more lively and more dramatic, as illustrated by the long passage quoted above.

(c) the moral, which consists of a tag or a maxim very commonly introduced by the lexical form:

(bǒŋ) *ímà:òká:má* 'That is why...'

This is usually followed by a hortative or initiative sentence the semantic content of which gives the moral of the story, e.g.

1. Note that the subject or complement deletion process often occurs in conversation utterances, e.g.

Ubì: òbàsè ótùm òtè: isén 'It rained hard yesterday'
Ègù: éiyá, ótùm òtè: 'Yes, it did (lit. it rained hard).
Ègù omits the subject *òbàsè* in the structure of his sentence.

ímà: òká:má yájòu ònò:tàm ô:jěi ò bǒŋ, púwé.¹
that it-is-why they-say elder if-he-says you thing hear
'That is why they say when an old man gives you advice, listen to him'

(d) the closure, which is marked by the invariable form:

ètúkpá kǒi

announcing the end of the story. This form of closure, which terminates the narration of folk tales only, does not elicit any response from the audience.

If another folk tale is to be told, the next narrator, after an interlude of conversation utterances (which are discussed below), begins with the address utterance and then, after the audience's response utterance, goes through all the four parts of the narration utterance as described above.

8.32 Rhetorical Discourse

Another class of discourse we may describe as rhetorical discourse. This is a discourse in which the delivery of a formal speech is the most prominent part. The occasion is normally before an assembly of age-group friends in council or of members of an association, e.g. lédù, i.e. the association of rich farmers, the yàgbûnjî and the yàsû: of the town.

The rhetorical discourse differs from the narration discourse by the striking absence of the specific and invariable folk tales forms of the narration discourse. It consists of at least three utterances of which the rhetorical utterance is specific to the discourse. These are:

1. For further examples, cf. Texts in the Appendix.

- (i) the introduction utterance
- (ii) the rhetorical utterance
- (iii) the closing comment utterance.

8.321 The Introduction Utterance

The rhetorical discourse usually begins with the introduction of the person designated to make the formal speech by an 'assembly speaker' or announcer. The announcer may also introduce the subject on which the speech is to be made.

8.322 The Rhetorical Utterance

A rhetorical utterance normally consists of three parts: an opening address, the formal speech and a closing address.

(a) The Opening Address

The opening address, which R.E. Longacre (1976) calls 'aperture' (p.214), consists of a formal salutation of the audience and an invitation to it to listen. The salutation usually takes the form of a nominal phrase or a sequence of nominal phrases in vocative function. This is followed by the invitation to listen which takes the form of a hortative sentence. The following is a typical opening address by a young man at a family gathering:

âbă: bə ù:wou òbə â-bə ñ:mùkà, âbă:
 you fathers and mothers, you

bèn ú:wou òbə â:-bə ñ:mùkà..., bǎ:
 children of father and those of mother you

kàlǎ: ñ kòtûŋ
 hear me ear

'Fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, ... lend me your ears!'

(b) The Formal Speech

The formal speech usually begins with a proverb summarizing the

point of the speech, e.g.

bǒŋ ɔ:bɪ wó ɔ:néi, jàn bǒŋ ǎ:yí
thing if-it-should you it-does-never thing you-know
'Experience is the best teacher'

The speaker may then go on to counsel a certain course of action from the privilege of his experience.

(c) The Closing Address

The closing address is usually an expression of gratitude by the speaker to the audience for listening to him. It may be couched in this way:

ńjǎu bà: bà: sám 'I say, 'Thank you'.
I-say you you thanks

8.323 The Closing Comment Utterance

This utterance, like the introduction utterance, is delivered by the announcer who expresses the appreciation of the audience for the formal address and then continues with the business of the assembly.

Remark

It should be noted that the introduction utterance may be preceded, and the closing comment utterance followed, by conversational utterances.

8.33 Conversation Discourse

A third discourse we may call conversation discourse. It is a discourse in which rapid conversational exchange is dominant. It differs from the other two classes of discourse in that its utterances are not autonomous, but dependent to a greater or lesser extent for their formal properties on the form and content of neighbouring utterances.

This is particularly so with regard to eliciting and response ut-

terances, where the form and/or tense of the eliciting utterance determine to some extent the form and/or tense of the following response, since information given in the eliciting utterance may be omitted in the response, rendering it often grammatically truncated and less formal than in narration and rhetorical utterances.

These differences between conversation and other classes of discourse must not be taken to mean that they do not share common characteristics. Indeed, all classes of discourse may contain similar conversation utterances. A conversation discourse may include a long narrative utterance telling a story with many of the internal patterning elements of the narration utterance. It may also contain a formal speech with some of the elements of a rhetorical utterance. But the prominence given by each discourse to its distinctive utterance is the decisive factor in the various discourse classifications.

Four characteristic utterances of conversation discourse may be set up:

- (i) eliciting utterance (or discourse opener)
- (ii) response utterance
- (iii) message utterance
- (iv) closure utterance (or discourse closer)

8.331 Eliciting and Response Utterances

The eliciting and response utterances have reciprocal distribution, in that an eliciting utterance normally precedes a response utterance. The two utterances are therefore considered together here.

Two sub-classes of eliciting and response utterances may be distinguished:

- (a) the question (or query) and response sub-class
- (b) the vocative and response sub-class

(a) The Question and Response Sub-Class

The constituents of the question utterance requiring a response are sentences, the final sentence often being of a question type, cast in a positive or negative form.

The constituents of the response utterance are also sentence units, the first sentence constituent being an initiative sentence.

If the eliciting utterance ends in a polar question, the response utterance may be preceded by a 'response word', such as éiyá or m̃: 'yes' for 'agreement' and èé 'no' for 'disagreement'.

Frequently, the response utterance is initiated by a repetition of the question as a statement, either positive or negative.

Examples.

Question: áwòŋ ké? 'Are you back?'

Response: éiyá 'Yes'

Question: kèblô: kédé yàŋ?
farming it-is how
'How was your day in the farm?'

Response: kèblô: kè:yí:yí. ñdó ètēn yàná m̃:fî:
farming it-is-not even animal one I-killed-not good
'Not good. I did not kill even one single animal'

Question: kèpóm kédé yàŋ? 'How is the morning?'

Response: kèpóm kényí:yí òyíyí. 'The morning is fine'

Question: ájèi yàŋ? á:jâ: ò:dó?
You-say how thus it-is-not
'What do you say? Isn't it true?'

Response: bômboŋ ñ:jèi. ódó á:jâ: 'Nothing. It is so'.
nothing I-say-not it-is thus

Greetings, consisting of a set of questions and answers in determined sequence and with restricted lexical content, may constitute a sub-class of eliciting and response utterances functioning as 'opener' in conversational discourse, e.g.

Étêŋ: áplòká ? 'Good morning'

Òmìnì: éìyá. áplòká? 'Yes. Good morning' (i.e. reciprocal greeting).

Étêŋ: wòl lídè yàŋ? 'How are you?'

Òmìnì: lítáwá òtáwá. jé líwù kî?

'I am well. And you? (i.e. a reciprocal question).

Étêŋ: lítáwá òtáwá tùtù. 'I am well too'

At this point Étêŋ goes on to the message utterance in the conversational discourse.

Note that any polar question functioning as initiative sentence in the conversation utterance may be optionally followed by the final-marker -ò:, eg. áplòká-ò: for áplòká 'good morning'.

These reciprocal question and response utterances amplify phatic communication, and are important for their social function rather than for their information content.

The second sub-class of eliciting and response utterances is the vocative and response utterances. Its nucleus, i.e. the eliciting utterance, is most commonly a personal proper name (e.g. Étêŋ) or occasionally a title (e.g. òmá: 'mother') or a noun denoting a personal relationship (e.g. òmùkà 'my mother').

-ò (or -yò when the name ends in the phonetic diphthong Vi) may be suffixed to the vocative noun phrase if the person being called is or is thought to be a little far away. This form of the noun phrase in vocative function is therefore often used, if the first call is not re-

sponded to, or if the caller wants to communicate endearment or affection.

Examples.

First Call	Second Call
Úbì	Úbì-ò
Ìsú	Ìsú-ò
Àyèi	Àyèi-yò

The response utterance is either ǒ: or ǎ:.

When the noun phrase in vocative function is replaced by the 2nd person pronoun, the pronoun does not carry a separate intonation contour, in that it now functions, not as a separate utterance, but as a constituent of an initiative sentence occurring utterance initially in the conversational discourse, e.g.

ǒkɔi: áwú áné:yí bɔŋ? (eliciting utterance)

'You, what are you doing?'

Éyɔŋ: bɔmbɔŋ ñ:né:yí (response utterance)

'I am doing nothing'

The personal pronoun here only serves the purpose of drawing the attention of the person being addressed.

Noun phrases in vocative function such as àbǎ: bèn á:-mùkà 'maternal brothers and sisters', àbǎ: yàmènèbām 'my friends'; exclamations, e.g. ô:hǒiyè:, èkèu, òbàsè íbùlú:kpâ:bì 'God forbid'; or an expression of surprise and grief combined, and words like kpě: or ñbê:, both meaning 'Look here!' or 'I say' have a similar structural role, although the exclamations may also occur medially in conversation utterances, especially in response to a narrative utterance.

8.332 Message Utterance

The conversation message utterance is distinguished by the presence

of an initiative or hortative sentence, usually preceded by a conversation discourse opener, i.e. eliciting and response utterances as already described above.

Examples.

Èwèní: áplòkà ? 'Good morning'
 Òkàmá: éiyá. àwú áplòkà ? 'Yes. Good morning' } discourse
 Èwèní: nè òkòu kèblê: 'I am going to the farm' } opener

(initiative sentence).

Òkàmá: òyì 'O.K.' (discourse closer).

But a message utterance may also consist of a short story that contains more than one sentence, in which case the first sentence may be specified as either initiative or hortative and the subsequent one(s) as hortative or sequential, e.g.

Òfèm: áplòkà ? 'Good morning'
 Òtùm: éiyá. áplòkà ? 'Yes. Good morning'. } discourse
 Òfèm: (1) líté:mí líwù lídè yàn? (initiative sentence) } opener
 'How is your farm?'

(2) tẹ òtòlì ò: ké líkól íyà:sí (hortative s.)
 'Let me go with you to the farm today'.

or

àyì ímà: òdè kà: ǎ:kù:yì (sequential s.)
 days these even there you-go-not
 'Nowadays, you don't go there (i.e. to the farm)'

These two sentences constitute a message utterance.

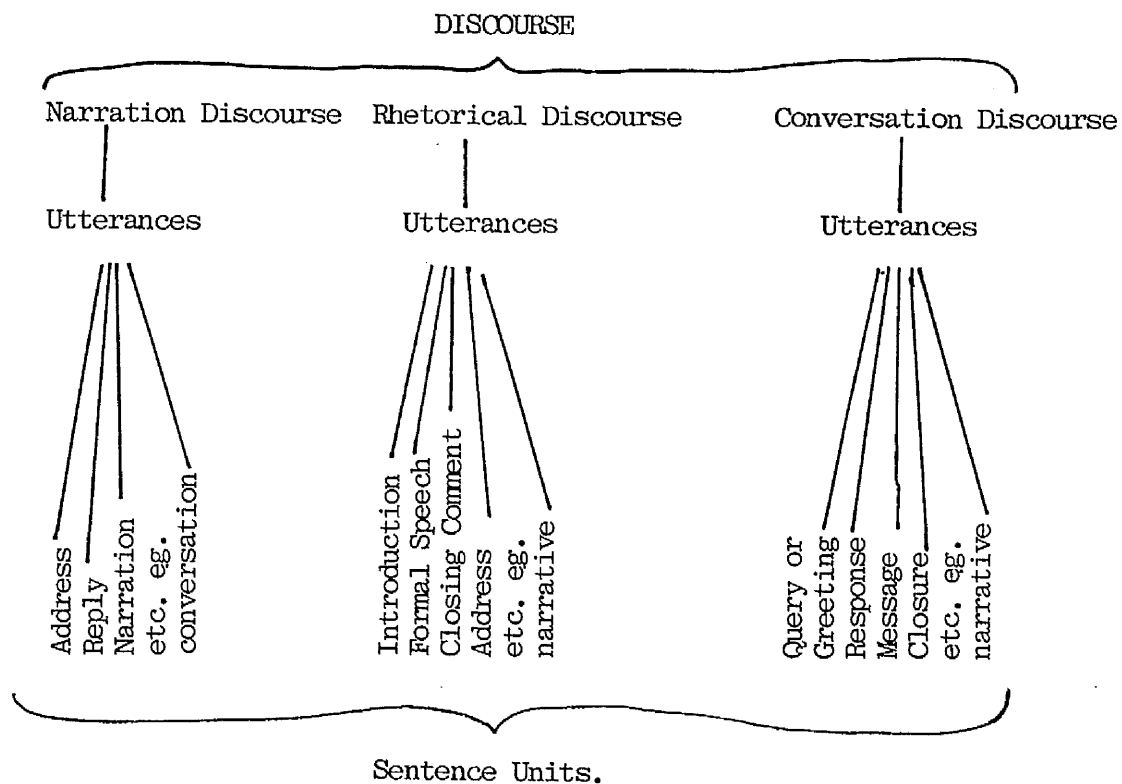
8.333 Closure Utterance

The conversation closure utterance usually consists of a hortative or assent sentence. Two typical conversation closure utterances are:

- (i) sám. nòmá àkólè. 'Thanks. Stay well!'
- (ii) sám. sẹ́nà àkólè. 'Thanks. Go well!'

8.4. Relationship between the Sentence and the Units Above

The hierarchical relationship between the sentence and the units above it which we have just described may be represented by the following diagram:



ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Adj.	adjective
AOR.	Aorist
AP	adverbial phrase
Aux.	auxiliary
AVS	auxiliary verb-stem
Cdir.	direct complement
Cindir.	indirect complement
Cl-Introd.	clause-introducer
Comp., Compl.	complement
Comp. Vb.	compound verb
C _{NPO}	obligatory nominal phrase complement
C _{NPOP}	optional nominal phrase complement
CONT., CONTIN.	continuative
Cor.	coordinative
Dem.	demonstrative
Int.	interrogative
Intr.	intransitive
lit.	literally
Mod.	modifier
M.postvb	post-verb modifier
M. prevb	pre-verb modifier
M.Vb	main verb
MVS	main verb-stem
N	noun
NEG.	negative
Neg. Part.	negative particle

NH	noun head
NON-CONT.	non-continuative
NP	nominal phrase
Num.	numeral
Part.	particle
Perf. (Part.)	perfective (or completive) particle
pers.	person
plu., pl.	plural
P-morph	phonological morph
Poss.	possessive
Pn.	pronoun
P-phrase	phonological phrase
Pr.	prefix
P-word	phonological word
REL. CL	relative clause
rsCl.	rankshifted clause
rsNP	rankshifted nominal phrase
sing.	singular
S _{NP}	noun phrase Subject
subj.	subject
SSP	self-standing pronoun
Vb.	verb
Vd.	voiced
Vl.	voiceless
VP	verbal phrase
-	precedes a non-occurring syntactic element.
+	precedes an obligatory element
+ -	precedes an optional element.

≠	"contrasts with"
→	"becomes"
<	'is derived from'
:	a colon marking a long phone
.	a full-stop marking the end of a sentence or an intonation contour
,	a comma marking a phonological pause.
•	a dot between words is used to mark a syllable-break where relevant.
-	a hyphen between words is used to mark a morpheme-break where relevant.

underlining used in examples to indicate the item under focus when it
is given in its larger context.

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APPENDIX

TEXT A

Bòŋ wé òká:má È:pù òwú:yì ké yǐ:tāmítām.

thing why Monkey he-lives in forest

'What caused the Monkey to live in the forest'

1. Narrator: kpākă: sēníníní: 'Lend me your ears'.

2. Audience: ǎ::: 'We are ready'.

3. Narrator:

òból wáná ókòu kâ:, òkpèyè òból Ágbálángbá.

chief one he-went there, he-was-called chief Agbalá^Cngba.

4. óyéní kèyú sá kèbòlí ké ètì. bàññ óbè: bè

he-had riches which it-passed has road. women he-married them

5. ké ñ:kàtā, līmàn dè ònè ópórŋè ò:yì:mè

in baskets, money where will he-hides he-knew-not.

6. kèyú kéwé ñ:tè:n-á bōŋ wé é:mā nè éyín

riches his of-animals thing which mouth will it-tells

7. ò:dè:. mē ñ:tēñ ŋwé mā: èbè:, ètēñ yé

it-was-not. in animals his there all animal which

8. èdè yé étà ké ódó à:-Bǔ:sì. ònè ókè:

it-pleased him it-surpassed it-was Cat whenever he-gives

9. ñtēñ ímìnà: lújí, óní. kólóí ké Bǔ:sì-á ímìn

animals these food he-always-first Cat this

- 10 lújí kèkěi. ɔkà:má ntèn íkìnà: èbě: ɔkónnì
food giving. so animals the-other all it-angered
- 11 yé. ńdèlì kòkpò dè ńnè mfì ké Bǔ:sì-á ímìn.
them. they-conferred-and-decided that they-will-kill Cat this.
- 12 È:pù wé ɔyáu ké lè:kpálá lèbé ójè yé
Monkey who he-was in group their he-told them
- 13 ɔbí yé "bà: ká pò:nà. àmí ńyì:mé ké bòn
he-said them "don't worry. I I-know have thing
- 14 wé ńnè ńnè Bǔ:sì-á',
which shall I-do Cat"
- 15 lèwì jàná ɔból ímìn ódèlì kpákpà,
day one chief this he-took groundnuts,
- 16 ɔpó: ké è:kón, ɔdò: mǎ:, ɔkòu ɔbí tē
he-roasted in fire, he-left there, he-went he-said that
- 17 ódèlì ùtá:bì ówé dè lè:kpékpélí. nè ɔbálì
he-takes snuff his in room. he-before
- 18 ɔyè: mǎ:, kpákpà mùmá ńwé n̄télé ńkpó:
he-came there, groundnuts whole his three they-disappeared
- 19 kǎ:. mǎ ɔ:dò:yí mǎ: mǎ:, È:pù ɔtó
there. when he-left there then, Monkey he-used
- 20 kòbó: ké á:-Bǔsì-á ɔfòṅṅà kpákpà ímìn,
hand of Cat he-dug-out groundnuts these,

21. òdèlì òjì kẹ́ ẹ́pál-ẹ̀: pál, òbóì Ágbálángbá
he-took he-ate all quickly, chief Agbalangba
22. nè ọ́bẹ̀lì ọ́dùkẹ̀ ẹ́ mǎ:, È:pù ọ̀wẹ̀ kẹ́.
he-before he-came back there, Monkey he-finished has.
23. kẹ́ ọ̀:bòì ọ̀:yè: mǎ:, kpákpa ọ̀wẹ́ ọ̀jọ́: ẹ́
when chief he-came there, groundnuts his it-got-less
24. kẹ́. ọ̀kǎ:mǎ òbláú ñtèn ímǎ: ẹ̀bǎ:. yǎnyànǎ:yá
has. so he-asked animals these all. each
25. ẹ́kǎ: ẹ́ǎ, ẹ́báwà ẹ̀mǎ kẹ́ ẹ̀:kón. È:pù ẹ́wẹ̀: ẹ́wẹ̀
it-denied, it-put mouth in fire. Monkey alone
26. òjěi òbí ọ̀yì:mẹ́ kẹ́ ọ̀nèn wẹ́ ọ̀fòṅṅǎ
he-said he-said he-knew has person who he-dug out
27. kpákpa ímǎ; òbí ọ́dẹ́ ǎ:-Bǔ:sì ọ̀fòṅṅǎ.
groundnuts these, he-said it-was Cat he-dug-out.
28. òbóì kẹ́ ọ̀:bláí, ọ́dèdì Bǔsì-ǎ ọ̀fẹ̀lì ẹ́gbò:kòbǎ.
chief he-asked-not, he-took Cat he-locked chain
29. ǎ:-Bǔ:sì ọ̀wòmmǎi òbí È:pù ọ̀tọ́: kòbó:
Cat he-kept-shouting he-said Monkey he-used hand
30. kówẹ́ ọ̀fòṅṅǎ kpákpa, ọ̀:dẹ́ kpákpa È:pù ọ̀jì:,
his he-dug-out groundnuts, if-it-was groundnuts Monkey he-ate,
31. òbí ọ̀:bí ǎ:jǎ: ọ̀:dẹ́, tẹ́ yǎjí kẹ̀sẹ́:pà. òbóì
he-said if-it-not so it-was-not, let they-eat lie-detector. chief

32. ɔkɔbɪ lɔwɪ ɔgɛnɛ kɛ ʔa:-gbáŋ-gbáŋ, ɔdɛ ntɛn ɛbɛ:,
he-fetched water he-put in basin, he-called animals all
33. tɛ mfú kɛn mfú: yɛ mma.. yǎnyànà:yá ɛfúi
that they-come they-rinse them mouths. each it-rinsed
34. yɛ ɛma, bɔmbɔŋ kɛ lɔ:wɪ ɔ:dɛ:. È:pù nè
it mouth nothing in water it-was-not. Monkey when
35. ɔfɪ ɔ:fú wɛ ɛma kpákpá-lǔ:lǔ: líwú: kɛ kɛ
he-came he-rinsed it mouth groundnut-bits they-filled in
36. lɔ:wɪ ɛbɛ:. È:pù kɛ ɔ:kɛ: ʔa:já:, lɛkálàjɛn lénɛi
water all. Monkey when he-saw so, shame it-did
37. yɛ, ɔfɪ:lɛ ɔwáu ɔtɔ kɛ yɪ:támítám.
him he-jumped he-ran he-fell in forest.
38. ɔkà:má È:pù jàŋ kɛ lɔ:sɛ ɔ:mənnɛ, ɔbàlài
so Monkey never on ground he-steps-not, he-thinks
39. yɛ ɔbɪ ɔbɔl Ágbáláŋkpá nè ɔmànà ɛ kɛ.
him he-says chief Agbalaŋkpa will he-arrest him
40. ɛtú-kpá kɔi. 'That is the end of the story'

Translation of the Folk-Tale:

What Caused the Monkey to live in the Forest

'There was a certain chief called chief Agbalaŋba. He had riches beyond measure. Wives he married in baskets, and he did not know where to hide his money. His riches where animals were concerned were not

something mouth could tell. Among all his animals, the animal which he liked best was the Cat. If he wanted to give food to these animals, he used to give the food first to the Cat. For this reason all the other animals got angry. They held a meeting and decided to kill the Cat. The Monkey who was in their group said to them: "Don't worry. I know what to do to the Cat".

'One day this chief took groundnuts and roasted them in the fire, and then left to get his snuff from his room. By the time he got back, three of his groundnuts were lost. When he was away, the Monkey had used the Cat's paw to dig out (from the ashes) the groundnuts and ate them quickly. By the time chief Agbalangba had returned the Monkey had finished.

'When the chief arrived back, his groundnuts had got less. So he questioned all the animals. Each denied it completely (putting his mouth to the fire). The Monkey alone said he knew who dug out the groundnuts; he said it was the Cat that did it. The chief did not question any more; he took the Cat and put him in prison.

'The cat shouted out repeatedly that the Monkey had used his paw to dig out the groundnuts, and that as far as the groundnuts were concerned, it was the Monkey that ate them. He said if it was not so, let them resort to a lie-detector. The chief put water into a basin and called all the animals to come and rinse their mouths. Each one rinsed his mouth, and there was nothing in the water. But when it was the Monkey's turn to rinse his mouth, the water was full of bits of groundnuts. When the Monkey saw this, he was ashamed, so he jumped and escaped into the forest.

'That is why the Monkey never comes down to the ground, he thinks chief Agbalangba will catch him'.

TEXT B

È:fèl òsò ñkò:

Rabbit who has many friendships

1. Narrator: kpàkpă: sèñíníní:
'Lend me your ears'
2. Audience: ă::: 'We are ready'
3. Narrator:
'È:fèl ókòu kâ:, òyéni ñkò: sǒ:sò:, ówè
Rabbit he-went there, he-had friendships many he-was-a-friend
4. òbó Ñ:yànyàn òbó È:bú òbó È:pàm òbó Kè:kpí, kó
to Horse, to Goat to Cow to Tortoise, when
5. á:dèdí kè kâ: yàmènsèbèn bíkìn yàdó-yàdó.
you-have-taken away his-friends remaining others
6. mé yà:mènsèbèn bímìn èbǒ:, òmènsèwèn
in his-friends these all his-friend
7. wǎywanà:yá wé òbí yéní yònénsé òní dèi
each who if-he had work he-would call
8. È:fèl-l-á tẹ ókàm é kè. È:fèl jàn kè ǒ:plèmi.
Rabbit that he-help him out. Rabbit never has he-refused-not.
9. lèwì jàná, È:fèl ówóí bẹ tẹ yákàm è
day one, Rabbit he-wanted them that they-help him
10. kè, òyéni yájé:-nèn òbó ì:blá mbe yáwó:yí
out, because hunters and dogs their they-wanted

11. dǎ ńǎ ò yáfi ẹ kẹ.
that will they-kill him.
12. ókélá ẹtì ọpènò dā: Ẹ̀yànyàn-á, ọbláú yé
he-first he-went-and-met Horse, he-asked him
13. tẹ ńkàm ẹ kẹ. Ẹ̀yànyàn ọbí ọyáú kẹ
that he-help him out. Horse he-said he-was-busy
14. ọ:yò:nèi yẹ wǎl, dǎ ńǎ ótẹ: yàtẹ-á ọkòu
he-was-preparing himself body, that he-will he-take his-father he-go
15. ẹplá, ọbí ẹ "kǒu àkẹ Ẹ̀bú-á ńǎ ókàm ọ kẹ".
market, he-said him "Go see Goat if-he-will he-help you"
16. ọpènó dā: Ẹ̀bú-á , Ẹ̀bú ọbí ọyáú kẹ
He-went-and-met Goat, Goat he-said he-was in
17. kò:yá:mà ọbó Yò:nì, ọbí ẹ "kǒu àkẹ Ẹ̀pàm
competition with Elephant, he-said him "Go see Cow
18. ńǎ ókàm ọ kẹ."
if-he-will he-help you"
19. kẹ ọ:yè: dǎ Ẹ̀pà:m-á, Ẹ̀pàm ọjèi ẹ
when he-came to Cow, Cow he-said him
20. ọbí ẹ "ńyáú kẹ kò:wòu".
he-said him "I-have-a-baby-to-look-after".
21. Ẹ̀fẹl ọbà:lí ẹ ọbí wò:dó Kẹ:kpí
Rabbit he-thought himself he-said perhaps Tortoise

22. nè ókàm é kẹ́. ókà:má òtúkè òpènè
will he-help him out. so he-ran he-went-
23. dā: Kè:kpí-á. óyè: dā:, Kè:kpí òbí
and-met Tortoise he-arrived there, Tortoise he-said
24. é "ńyáú kẹ́ è:bòn yé á:-wèn ómì".
him "I-am in circumcision- of child my"
ceremony
25. È:fèl ókpè:né má: sám, òkẹ́
Rabbit he-looked there pensively, he-saw
26. òjèu òbí ò:bí wòl líwé ǒ:kàmì,
he-said he-said if-he body his he-helped-not,
27. yájè:-nèn bímà: nè yáfì è kẹ́. ókà:má
hunters those will they-kill him. so
28. òkò:mè ñkàmí dẹ́ m:bó: yé yá:nèn
he-stopped help from hands of people
29. kẹ̀wòí, òtúkè òkàm wòl líwé tùtù
looking-for, he-ran he-helped body his until
30. òsẹ́ bẹ́ kẹ́.
he-escaped them.
31. óyíná ímìn ókpé: mọn òbí óyì
story this it-taught us it-says it-is-good
32. ònèn tẹ́ ókàm wòl líwé òtá kẹ́ tẹ́
person that he-help body his it-surpasses has that

33. ókpé:nè ñkàmí dṣ m:bṣ: yṣ ṣ:nèn.

he-looks help from hands of person.

34. ètú-kpá kǒi.

'That is the end of the story'.

Translation of the Folk-Tale

The Rabbit with many friends

'Once upon a time there was a Rabbit who had many friends. His friends were the Horse, the Goat, the Cow and the Tortoise, in addition to other friends. Whenever any of these friends had work, he used to ask the Rabbit to come and help him. The Rabbit never refused.

'One day, the Rabbit wanted them to help him, because some hunters and their dogs wanted to kill him.

'He first went to the Horse and asked him to help him. The Horse said he was preparing to take his master to market, and said to him: "Go and see if the Goat will help you".

'He went to the Goat, and the Goat said he was engaged in a competition with the Elephant, and said to him: "Go and see if the Cow will help you".

'When he came to the Cow, the Cow said to him: "I am looking after children".

'The Rabbit then thought that perhaps the Tortoise would help him. So he ran to see the Tortoise. When he reached there, the Tortoise said to him, "I am busy with the celebration of the circumcision of my daughter".

'The Rabbit then thought quietly, and saw that if he did not help himself, the hunters would kill him. So he stopped looking for help at the hands of other people, and ran to help himself until he escaped.

'This story teaches us that it is better for a man to help himself than to look for help from others'.